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ABSTRACT

This report describes recent patterns of racial enrollments in private K-12 schools in the United States. It includes data from the federal government's most recent Private School Survey, which covers 1997-98. Results indicate that segregation levels are quite high among private schools, particularly among Catholic and other religious private schools. Black-white and Latino-white segregation is greater among private schools than public schools. White students are more racially isolated in private schools than public schools. Among private schools, secular private schools have the most racially diverse enrollments and lowest levels of segregation. White and Asian students enroll in private schools at two times the rate of black and Latino students. Private school enrollment rates are much higher among middle- and high-income families than low-income families. Differences in white and minority private school enrollment rates contribute substantially to overall patterns of segregation in many local school markets. Four appendices present data on state private school enrollment patterns, metropolitan area private school enrollment patterns, detailed school segregation tables, and regression models predicting white private school enrollment rates. (Contains 12 figures, 16 tables, and 30 references.) (SM)

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PRIVATE SCHOOL RACIAL ENROLLMENTS AND SEGREGATION

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June 26, 2002

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FORWARD BY GARY ORFIELD

This report is an important contribution to our understanding of the opportunities offered by schools in the United States to children of all races in a society where there will soon be no racial majority among school age children and where educational opportunity for minority students has been inadequate. Access to good schools, the opportunity to take challenging courses from qualified teachers in schools with high levels of academic competition, the opportunity to learn about students of other backgrounds, and the chance to acquire skills in working effectively across racial and cultural and linguistic lines will all become increasingly invaluable assets for young Americans. During the past two decades there has been an intense focus on inequality in public schools and strong suggestions that the private schools would do much better. These discussions have been very intense within minority as well as white communities. Though the private schools serve only a small minority of American students—about one in nine, a smaller proportion than a half century ago—they do offer an important alternative and deserve close attention.

We have often issued national reports on trends of segregation in American public schools through the Harvard Project on School Desegregation and The Civil Rights Project and will issue new national statistics in July. This report is an effort to extend that work to the full range of American schools. As the country passes through vast demographic changes it is increasingly important to observe racial trends in all of our major institutions.

The data in this report reveal that private schools have been disappointingly unsuccessful in their record of creating interracial schools–where equal opportunity, and the opportunity to learn about other cultures would be more likely. This lack of success is despite the fact that private schools have fewer non-white students to integrate, private schools have simply not made much progress toward this goal. Since private non-religious schools tend to be substantially more expensive than religious schools, voucher plans are most likely to fund attendance at religious schools. It is therefore particularly distressing that these schools have the highest levels of racial separation.

As a Catholic who attended a Catholic grade school and who has respect for the role of religious schools, it is particularly disappointing for me to see the statistics on the segregation of Catholic schools. These statistics probably reflect the fact that many of these schools are based on geographically defined parishes and were built largely in the central cities of the great industrial centers of the Northeast and Midwest—places that tend to have the nation's highest levels of residential segregation and places that according to the 2000 Census are making the least progress toward integrated housing. Also disappointing is the very small proportion of Latino students who have had access to a school system that was originally created to serve Catholic immigrants but is now shutting schools in cities where a tide of Catholic immigrants from Latin America and Asia are arriving. These statistics as well as those of the non-Catholic religious schools, which are the most rapidly growing sector, should be taken as a serious challenge to religious traditions that give fundamental value to the dignity of each person, oppose separation and discrimination, believe in a special responsibility to serve the poor, and are rapidly changing in their own membership.

Though religious schools are not now under any desegregation requirements from courts and this report does not assess blame for the patterns reported, private school educators do have freedom to provide leadership in this area, and could well consider the techniques used by public magnet schools and secular private institutions. Moreover, private schools may well be held publicly accountable should they become publicly funded through voucher systems. In our recent book *Religion, Race and Justice in a Changing America*, theologians from major religious traditions suggested the need to analyze current patterns of racial opportunity in terms of the basic religious values. These statistics raise important questions for such discussions.

Gary Orfield,
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

For the last half century there has been intensive focus on the racial segregation of public schools in the United States. Extensive research on public school enrollments has shown that public school integration increased substantially under the enforcement of civil rights laws in the late 1960s and 1970s but has undergone a slow but steady decline since the late 1980s. There has, however, been a curious lack of information about, and interest in, the racial enrollment patterns of the nation's private school students, over eighty percent of whom attend religious schools. Examination of private school racial enrollment patterns is particularly important now, given 1) the increasing diversity of the United States; 2) the fact that there are few white students enrolled in the public schools of many central cities; 3) the fact that private school enrollments are on the rise; and 4) current efforts to legalize public aid for religious schools through voucher programs—efforts that are based in part on claims about the superiority of private education.

This report describes recent patterns of racial enrollments in private K-12 schools in the United States. There has never been a major report on private school segregation based on comprehensive national data. Instead, much of the discussion about private school racial enrollment patterns is based on relatively small samples of private schools in national studies, samples that cannot be reliably used to project national or sub-national patterns. This report is possible because the federal government initiated a Private School Survey in 1993, providing comprehensive national data with an extremely high response rate from the nation's private schools. This report includes data from the most recently available survey, which covers the 1997-98 school year.

Segregation Patterns

The most significant finding in this report is that segregation levels are quite high among private schools, particularly among Catholic and other religious private schools, where the levels of segregation are often equal or greater than levels of segregation among public schools. In particular, we highlight the following results.

- **Black-white segregation is greater among private schools than among public schools.** Although 78% of the private school students in the nation were white in 1997-98, the average black private school student was enrolled in a school that was only 34% white. For comparison, note that among public schools, 64% of students were white and the average black public school student attended a school that was 33% white. In other words, black private school students are as racially isolated as are black public school students. Despite the fact that black students constitute a much smaller share of the private school population than the public school population, black and white private school students largely attend separate schools.
  - **Black-white segregation is greatest among Catholic schools.** Black Catholic school students attend schools that are, on average, 31% white; black students in non-Catholic religious schools attend schools that average 35% white; and black students in secular private schools attend schools that average 41% white. Secular private schools are considerably less segregated than public schools.

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- **In both the South and the West—where white students make up a much smaller share of the population than elsewhere, and where black-white public school segregation is the lowest in the country—private schools are much more segregated than their public school counterparts.** In the South, black students attend private schools that are, on average, 39% white and public schools that are 36% white. Given that 80% of private and 58% of public school students in the South are white, the similar levels of exposure to whites in schools indicate that private schools are far more segregated than public schools. Similarly, in the West, where 65% of private and 52% of public school students are white, black students attend private schools that average 35% white and public schools that average 32% white, again indicating higher levels of private than public segregation.
- **Black-white private school segregation is much greater among private schools in large metropolitan areas than in smaller metropolitan areas and rural areas.**

- **Latino-white segregation is lower among private schools than among public schools.** Although 78% of the private school students in the nation were white in 1997-98, the average Latino private school student was enrolled in a school that was only 41% white. For comparison, note that among public schools, 64% of students were white and the average Latino public school student attended a school that was only 30% white. Latino public school students are thus more racially isolated than black public school students, but Latino private school students are more racially integrated than black private school students.
  - **Latino-white segregation is greatest among public and Catholic schools.** Latino Catholic school students attend schools that are, on average, 36% white; Latino students in non-Catholic religious schools attend schools that average 51% white; and Latino students in secular private schools attend schools that average 50% white. Non-Catholic religious schools and secular private schools are considerably less segregated than public and Catholic schools for Latino students. Catholic schools enroll over two-thirds of Latino private school students, so segregation levels among Catholic schools are the most significant for Latino students.

- **White students are more racially isolated in private schools than in public schools.** In public schools 47% of white students attend schools that are 90-100% white, while in private schools 64% of white students attend schools that are 90-100% white. In private schools, white students attend schools that are, on average, almost nine-tenths (88%) white and only 12% minority, whereas white students in public schools attend schools that average four-fifths (81%) white and one-fifth (19%) minority.
  - **White students are most isolated in Catholic and other religious private schools.** The racial isolation of white students is greatest in non-Catholic religious schools, where the average white student attends a school that is 90% white and where 69% of white students attend schools that are 90-100% white. White students are only slightly less isolated in Catholic schools, where the average white student attends a school that is 89% white and where 66% of

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white students attend schools that are 90-100% white. Secular private schools, in contrast, have relatively low levels of white racial isolation—white students in secular private schools attend schools that are, on average, 85% white, and 44% of white students in secular schools are in schools that are 90-100% white.

- **Among private schools, secular private schools have the most racially diverse enrollments and the lowest levels of segregation.** Non-sectarian private schools have the highest rate of minority enrollment among private schools. Catholic school enrollments are slightly less diverse, while non-Catholic religious schools enroll the least diverse population of students. Within the private sector, segregation is greatest among Catholic schools, followed by other religious schools, and lowest among secular private schools.
  - **Catholic and other religious schools are highly segregated in part because of residential segregation patterns.** The high level of segregation among Catholic schools is largely due to the fact that most Catholic schools draw their enrollments from local, highly-segregated, neighborhoods. Absent any systematic mandate and effort to create integrated schools, Catholic school enrollment patterns typically mirror segregated residential patterns, often to a greater extent than in public schools, where desegregation efforts have often achieved some level of racial integration. In contrast, the relatively lower levels of racial isolation and segregation among secular private schools may be due to the fact that many of these schools draw students from a broad geographic area and, in many cases, actively seek to attract and retain a diverse student population.

Enrollment

Private schools are still a small sector of the nation's schools, enrolling roughly one-tenth of the K-12 students in the United States. Private sector enrollments have been relatively stable since the early 1970s, though they appear to have increased slowly during the 1990s. Within the relatively constant share of private school students, Catholic schools have been in a long decline but are still dominant, enrolling roughly half of all private school students in the late 1990s. Other religious private schools—often evangelical Christian schools—have been increasing their share of private schools the most rapidly and now enroll roughly one-third of all private school students. Secular private schools enroll the remaining one-sixth of private school students.

Patterns of private school enrollment vary considerably across the country and among different segments of the population. In particular, localized racial and socioeconomic differences in private school enrollment rates are important because they may create substantial patterns of segregation between the public and private sectors. This report describes these patterns in detail; several key findings are below.

- **White and Asian students enroll in private schools at two times the rate of black and Latino students.** Nationally, 12% of white students and 11% of Asian students are enrolled in private schools, while only 5% of black and 6% of Latino students are enrolled in private schools. Nonetheless, despite the racial differences

in private school enrollment, nationwide, 88% to 96% of students of all racial groups attend public schools.

- **Private school enrollment rates are much higher among middle- and high-income families than low-income families.** As expected, private school enrollment rates rise consistently with income, with about one in 25 low-income students (those with family incomes below $20,000/year) enrolled in private school compared to about one in six upper-income students (those from families earning $50,000/year or more). Almost two-thirds of students in private schools (63%) are from families with incomes greater than $50,000; less than 40% of students in public schools are from similar families. Likewise, only 8% of private school students are from families with incomes below $20,000, compared to over 22% of public school students.
- **At all income levels, white private school enrollment rates are greater than black and Latino private school enrollment rates.** Differences in private school enrollment rates cannot be explained as a result of income differences alone. At every income level, white students are more likely to be in private schools than are black and Latino students. The combination of income and racial enrollment patterns means that middle- and upper middle-class white students are substantially over-represented in private schools. In fact, over half (53%) of all private school students in 1998-2000 were non-Hispanic white students from families with annual incomes over $50,000. The comparable figure in public schools was 32%.

- **Differences in white and minority private school enrollment rates contribute substantially to overall patterns of segregation in many local school markets.** Although nationally white private school enrollments are twice minority private school enrollments, in many local schooling markets, white and minority private school enrollment differences can be much higher, between 3-10 times larger, resulting in substantial segregation between the public and private sectors.
  - **In large school districts, stark differences between white and minority school enrollment rates result in high levels of segregation between public and private schools.** In the 40 largest school districts in the U.S.—most of which are large urban school districts or large county-wide school districts in the South, and which collectively contain over 7 million students, one-third of whom are black students—31% of white students attend private schools, compared to 10% of black and 12% of Latino students living in these same districts. As a result, the public schools in these districts have a student population that is 33% white, while the private school population of these districts is 63% white, a difference of 30 percentage points.
  - **On average, white private school enrollment rates are highest in school districts with large proportions of black students in the population.** A plot showing white private school enrollment rates by district proportion black shows a strong positive trend, suggesting that some white families may use the private sector as a way of ensuring that their children attend schools with greater proportions of white students than may be available in the public sector.
  - **In many large school districts, more than one-third of all white students living within the district are enrolled in private schools.** A number of large

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urban districts lose much of their white student population to private schools. The large school districts with the highest white private school enrollment rates are generally the large urban districts of the Northeast and Midwest. The districts with the highest white private school enrollment rates in 1989-90 were Washington, DC (67%), New Orleans (65%), Philadelphia (55%), Chicago (54%), Jefferson Parish, LA (50%), San Francisco (49%), Boston (48%), Cleveland (47%), New York City (45%), and Milwaukee (41%).

Implications

From a civil rights perspective, several key points emerge from this report. First, the assumption that private schools enroll the greatest percentage of students in the South, where there has been the highest level of public school integration and by far the highest proportion of black students in the population, is simply wrong. Although the South has by far the highest proportion of black students in the public schools whites attend, it has a relatively small private school sector, just 8%, as does the West where almost half of the public school students are nonwhite. Moreover, white private school enrollment rates in the South (11%) are lower than the U.S. average (12%), suggesting that there is not (or no longer) any substantial 'white flight' to private schools in the South to avoid integrated public school systems. No Southern or Western state except Louisiana (a historic center of Catholic settlement) was among the 15 states with the highest share of students in private schools. Among metropolitan areas, New Orleans and New York had by far the highest share of white students in private schools.

Second, the assumption that minority students experience higher levels of integration with whites in the private sector when compared to the public sector is simply not true, particularly for black students. The discussion about vouchers has often included claims that minority students would get access to schools like whites—a similar set of choices—if only they had greater access to the private sector. In fact, black students in the private sector are just as segregated from whites as in the public sector; white students in the private sector generally attend overwhelmingly white schools. In addition, while Latino private school students make up only a small fraction of private school enrollments, they still experience schools that typically have substantial non-white majorities. Since private schools typically provide no free transportation for students, an increase in the minority percentages in these schools would be likely to increase segregation.

Third, the data presented here suggest that a number of frequent generalizations about public and private education in the U.S. are not accurate. In particular, the data indicate that, in spite of local variations, private schools provide education for only a small minority of American students. The fact that the large metropolitan areas—including the New York and Los Angeles metropolitan areas, which dominate the nation's media—have among the highest proportions of white students in private schools may well account for the inaccurate perception that public schools are threatened by private school growth.

Fourth, this report suggests several interesting things about the theory that desegregation produces white flight to private schools. On the one hand, much of this research shows little evidence of white flight from desegregation. For example, private schools enroll the most students in regions (the Northeast and Midwest) where public schools enroll the fewest minorities, and the fewest in the regions (the South and West) where the most interracial contact in public schools takes place. In addition, white private school enrollment rates peaked from 1950 to 1965, before there was any significant attempt at desegregation; then, after declining sharply in the late 1960s, white private school

enrollments were relatively stable through the 1970s, the period of greatest desegregation. Moreover, in the last decade, as segregation has increased among public schools, white private school enrollment rates have increased gradually. Although many other factors contribute to these trends—including national declines in Catholic school enrollments, economic cycles, tuition trends, and perceptions of public school quality—these trends are nonetheless exactly the opposite of what white flight from desegregation would be expected to produce.

On the other hand, some of the evidence suggests that some whites may seek private schooling in part to avoid schools with large minority enrollments. In school districts and metropolitan areas with higher shares of black students in the population, a higher proportion of whites attend private schools. In many large districts and in many metropolitan areas with high proportions of black students, white students are enrolled in private schools at rates far greater than black and Latino students. Moreover, it appears that this pattern cannot be attributed to white avoidance of public schools where poverty rates are high, since the strong association between white private enrollments and black student populations persists after we take local poverty rates into account. In all of our models, the strongest predictor of white private enrollment is the proportion of black students in the area.

Finally, it is important to note that this report cannot definitively ascertain the causes of these patterns of racial enrollment. The data do, however, suggest that private schools, as now operated, are not a significant answer to the problems caused by intensifying racial isolation in public schools as desegregation is abandoned. Other recent research from The Civil Rights Project has shown strong academic and adult life benefits of education in racially diverse schools. We recommend that the leaders of the nation's religious and secular private schools examine these patterns and the isolation of their significant minority enrollments as well as the serious segregation of white students and consider recruitment and transportation policies that could produce more diverse educational experiences for students of all racial and ethnic groups.

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the Common School movement in the nineteenth century, American children have had the opportunity to attend publicly-funded and publicly-managed schools free of charge. Throughout the last century, as the public school system in the United States became more established and differentiated from the private system, a relatively small minority of American families have chosen, at their own expense, to enroll their children in private schools. However, while almost 10% of children enrolled in school attend private institutions, there has been no systematic, large scale study of the composition of those schools. Thus, discussions about the segregative impact of private school choices have relied solely on generalizations from very small samples, anecdotes, and educated guesses. This report will provide the first concrete data about the day-to-day exposure of private school students to students of different racial or ethnic groups. In addition, it addresses differences in racial composition and segregation between the public and private sectors, and within the private sector itself, examining how different types of private schools look relative to each other. Finally, we provide some possible explanations for these data and explore their implications for private school voucher programs.

We know that families choose to send their children to private schools for a number of reasons, including a preference for religious education, dissatisfaction with public school quality, and preferences for particular school compositions. Religious motivations for private schooling—particularly for Catholic schooling—appear to have declined over the last half century primarily due to changes in the religious makeup of the United States, rising tuition rates at Catholic schools, and demographic shifts of the Catholic population into the suburbs, where there are fewer Catholic schools. Public and political dissatisfaction with public schooling increased in the U.S. during the 1980s and 1990s, in the wake of the *Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education 1983) and highly-publicized research findings claiming that private schools—particularly Catholic schools—were superior to public schools (Bryk, Lee, and Holland 1993; Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore 1982b; Greeley 1982; Hill, Foster, and Tamar 1990).

School composition preferences—preferences for schools of a particular racial/ethnic and/or socioeconomic composition—have played a role in shaping private school enrollments particularly in the post-*Brown* era, most overtly in the South in the two decades following the *Brown* decision, when many white families chose to send their children to white private schools rather than desegregated public schools (Levin 1999). Although 'white flight' to the private sector is almost certainly less prevalent today (and certainly less overt in most cases), a substantial body of research continues to suggest that racial and socioeconomic composition play a role in some families' decisions about private schooling (Conlon and Kimenyi 1991; Lankford and Wycoff 2000; Lankford, Lee, and Wycoff 1995; Long and Toma 1988; Schmidt 1992).

At the time of the writing of this report, the Supreme Court is considering the constitutionality of publicly-funded school voucher programs (*Zelman v. Simmons-Harris*). Thus, whether the Court will accept state-funded private school voucher programs is still unclear. Equally unclear are the probable effects on patterns of public and private school enrollment should state-funded voucher programs be declared legal and widely adopted. This report is timely since it provides a great deal of evidence on current patterns of private school enrollment and some evidence on the motivations of families in choosing private

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schooling. In particular, it demonstrates stark patterns of racial segregation both within the private sector and between the public and private sectors. Moreover, the data reported here suggest that white private school enrollment patterns are related, in part, to the presence of African American students in public schools, though the cause of this relationship cannot be determined from the data used here.

Clearly, parents who have the ability to pay have the right to send their children to private schools regardless of their reasons, and regardless of the results of those choices. However, the decision to spend public money to support access to private and religious institutions should be made with as much information as possible about the likely consequences of such policies on the distribution of educational opportunity in the U.S. There are still many important questions that need to be addressed in the policy and legislative realm about private school vouchers. While many of the arguments about freedom of choice for parents and the quality of private schools have been thoroughly examined (and remain hotly debated), other questions have been largely ignored for many years. In particular, how segregated is the private school sector compared to public schools? How much do patterns of private school enrollment contribute to, or ameliorate, patterns of public school segregation? Additionally, is there evidence that some parents use private schools to separate their children from other children of different racial and ethnic backgrounds? If private schools do serve as a mechanism that increases racial and socioeconomic isolation, should we support access to private schooling with public money? This report addresses these questions in order to inform ongoing discussion and debates about the value and appropriateness of private school voucher policies.

1.1. What do we know?

Historically, analyses of school segregation in America have focused on segregation within the public school sector. The omission of private schools from the school segregation discussion is particularly suspect in the current political environment when the possibility of private school choice is increasingly entering the public debate. Where private schools have been included in discussions of segregation, it is usually due to concerns about how private schools affect public school segregation by selectively siphoning students from the public sector. In particular, private school racial enrollment patterns are often invoked in debates about school choice and voucher programs (Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore 1982a; Levin 1999; Taeuber and James 1982). These studies usually note that the proportion of minority students in public schools is higher than the proportion of minority students in public schools, implying that the private sector is more racially homogenous than the public sector (Levin 1999).

However, differences in the racial composition of enrollment in the public and private sectors tell us only that there may be segregation *between* the public and private sectors; they tell us nothing about the presence or extent of segregation *within* the private sector. To examine segregation within the private sector, we need to examine how students are distributed among private school—are they relatively evenly distributed by race and ethnicity, resulting in schools that are less segregated than their public school counterparts, or are they additionally segregated among private schools? Studies of aggregate private school enrollment rates are not able to describe what students in private schools experience day-to-day, or how the composition of private school student populations differs among different types of private schools and in different settings. To date, no large-scale study of the patterns of school segregation among private schools has been done.

Given the current educational policy climate, in which private school choice and voucher programs are often presented as means of escape from racially segregated and failing public systems, we need a better understanding of these private school enrollment patterns. While these policies are being debated in statehouses and the Supreme Court, a largely unexamined and unanswered question remains—"What does the private school system look like?" Are students leaving a segregated public system only to enter an equally or more segregated private one? Unless we believe that public money should be spent to send students to a segregated private school environment—a situation we have spent the better part of fifty years dealing with in the public sphere—the framing of school segregation as solely a public school problem must be broken. The first step in that process is mapping the current landscape of private school patterns.

1.2. Overview of this Report

In this report, we provide a range of descriptive statistics on private school enrollments and patterns of racial segregation both among private schools and between the public and private sectors. The report is divided into three main sections, each with a specific purpose. The first section describes the basic landscape of the private school sector—including demographic data on student enrollments, the types of private schools in the United States, where those schools are located, and the level of segregation between the public and private schools.

The second section of this report examines the extent of racial segregation within the private school sector by describing the racial composition of schools attended by students of different racial groups. Although other research has described racial differences in the aggregate enrollments of the public and private sector, no prior research has examined racial segregation among private schools in this level of detail.

The third section explores the extent to which avoidance of racially diverse schools may play a part in white families private school enrollment decisions. We do this by examining the relationship between the racial composition of the school-age population and white families' choice of private schooling.

1.3. Data Used in this Report

The data used in this report come primarily from four sources: 1) the 1997-98 Common Core of Data (CCD) (National Center for Education Statistics 2000a); 2) the 1997-98 Private School Survey (PSS) (National Center for Education Statistics 2000b); the October Current Population Surveys (CPS) from 1998, 1999, and 2000 (Bureau of the Census 2000); and 4) the 1990 School District Databook (SDDB) (Bureau of the Census 1992).

The CCD is a data set containing enrollment data—including racial/ethnic enrollments—for every public school in the U.S. For the 1997-98 school year, every state except for Idaho reported racial/ethnic enrollments in the CCD. The PSS is a similar data set for the universe of private schools in the 1997-98 school year. Both the CCD and PSS contain geographic identifiers that allow us to tabulate enrollment figures by public school district, metropolitan area, state, and region.[1] The CCD and PSS do not, however, contain

[1] Geographic identifiers in the CCD refer to the physical location of the school and school district; since public schools serve students from well-defined geographic boundaries, CCD data can be aggregated to the desired geographic levels with little ambiguity. Geographic identifiers in the PSS, however, refer to the physical location of the school, but because private schools need not serve students from a definite

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adequate family income or poverty status data to allow us to examine public and private school enrollment data by income.[2] The October CPS provides counts of public and private school enrollments by race/ethnicity, family income, and geography (central city, suburb, rural). We use CPS data to examine private school enrollment rates by income, and to provide detailed tabulations by urbanicity.[3] The SDDB contains 1990 Census data tabulated by school district boundaries. Since neither the CPS nor the PSS allows detailed tabulations at the school district level, we use SDDB data to examine the relationship of public and private school enrollment patterns to poverty rates and racial composition in the 100 largest school districts in 1990.

2. Who Goes to Private School: The Context of Segregation Between Public and Private Schools

2.1. Type of School

For the last 30 years, roughly 10-12% of school-age children in the United States have attended private schools. In the 1950s and 1960s, the private school enrollment rate in the United States was roughly 14%, but this rate declined sharply in the late 1960s, largely as a result of declining (predominantly White) Catholic school enrollments in the wake of rising tuitions caused by increasing financial pressure on the church and the movement of many Catholics to the suburbs, where the Church operated few schools (Baker 1999; Baker and Riordan 1998; Bryk, Lee, and Holland 1993). In 1960, Catholic schools enrolled 12.3% of all K-12 students in the U.S. (5.2 million students), and 88% of all students in private schools. From 1960 to 1970, the proportion of students in Catholic schools had dropped from 31% to 8.5%; the proportion then declined by another 20% in each of the next two decades, so that by the fall of 1989, only 5.4% of K-12 students (2.5 million students) were enrolled in Catholic schools. During the same period, enrollments in non-Catholic private schools quadrupled, growing from 716,000 to 2.9 million students (from 1.7% of students to 6.2%) (Clotfelter 1992).

Despite the decline in Catholic school enrollments, Catholic schools remain the most common type of private school in the U.S., enrolling almost 5% of all K-12 students. In the 1997-98 school year, there were some 50 million students enrolled in grades K-12 in the U.S. Of these, almost 2.5 million (4.9%) were enrolled in Catholic schools; 1.6 million (3.2%) were enrolled in religiously-affiliated private schools other than Catholic schools; and almost 800,000 (1.6%) were enrolled in secular (non-religiously-affiliated) private schools (Table 1). The private school sector is dominated by religious private schools—only one sixth of the nearly five million students enrolled in the private school sector attend non-religious schools. And while Catholic school dominance of the private school sector is waning, the schools

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geographical area, the physical location of the school does not necessarily correspond to the residential addresses of the students. For this reason, we limit our geographic tabulations of CCD and PSS data to geographic areas no smaller than the metropolitan area level, since the market for the vast majority of private schools is generally smaller than a metropolitan area. Only private boarding schools are likely to serve students from a larger geographical area than a metropolitan area.

[2] The CCD does contain counts of free- and reduced-lunch eligible students by school, but these data are not available for all states. The PSS contains no such data.

[3] Unlike the CCD and PSS, geographic identifiers in the CPS refer to the residential address of the family/student. Consequently, we use the CPS data to tabulate enrollments by central city/suburb, since the PSS data are less precise at that level of aggregation.

filling the void left by the loss of Catholic schools are other religiously-based (non-Catholic) schools. In fact, the fastest growing segment of the private school sector is non-Catholic religious schools; conservative Christian schools comprise most of the growth in this sector (Henig and Sugarman 1999).

Table 1: Public and Private K-12 School Enrollments by Sector, 1997-98 School Year
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

	#	%
Total Public	45,458,215	90.3
Catholic	2,456,211	4.9
Religious	1,619,660	3.2
Secular	786,987	1.6
Total Private	4,862,858	9.7
Total	**50,321,073**	**100.0**

2.2. Private School Enrollment by Race and Income

Historically, white private school attendance rates have been much higher than those of blacks and Latinos. In 1997-98, about 12% of white K-12 students were enrolled in private schools, compared to 5.5% of both black and Latino students. Asian private school enrollment rates (11% in 1997-98) are comparable to those of whites, while Native American rates are the lowest, at 4% (Table 2). Thus, white and Asian students are over-represented in private school enrollments, while black, Latino, and Native American students are underrepresented (Table 3).

White students make up 64% of public school enrollments, but 78% of private school enrollments. White students are particularly over-represented in non-Catholic religious schools (81%)—the fastest growing part of the private school sector.

Table 2: Private School Enrollment Rates, by Race/Ethnicity and Sector, 1997-98 School Year (in percents)
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Native American	Total
Public	88.4	94.6	94.4	88.7	95.9	90.3
Private	11.7	5.4	5.6	11.3	4.1	9.7
Catholic	5.8	2.5	3.8	5.4	1.8	4.9
Religious	4.0	1.9	1.2	3.3	1.5	3.2
Secular	1.8	1.1	0.6	2.6	0.8	1.6
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

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Table 3: Racial Composition of School Enrollments, by Sector and Type of Private School, 1997-98 School Year (in percents)
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Native American	Total
Public	63.6	16.9	14.4	3.9	1.2	**100.0**
Private	77.9	9.0	7.9	4.6	0.5	**100.0**
Catholic	76.6	8.1	10.6	4.3	0.4	**100.0**
Religious	80.9	9.5	5.0	4.1	0.5	**100.0**
Secular	76.0	11.2	5.5	6.7	0.6	**100.0**
Total	**65.0**	**16.2**	**13.8**	**4.0**	**1.1**	**100.0**

These patterns have changed somewhat over the last 50 years. Data from the October Current Population Survey (CPS) show trends in private school enrollment rates from 1955-2000 (Figure 1).[4] White private school enrollment rates increased sharply in the years immediately following the *Brown* decision and peaked at roughly 16% from 1958 to 1965, before declining sharply from 1965 through the early 1970s. They have hovered near 12% for most of the last three decades, though the data indicate a slow but steady increase in white private school attendance rates from 11% in 1985 to 13% in 2000. From 1955 to 1990, black private school attendance rates hovered around 4-5% before increasingly sharply to nearly 7% in 2000. Unlike blacks, however, Latino students have become less likely to attend private schools in recent decades. From 1970 to 1985, Latino private school attendance rates were relatively stable at about 8-9%. In the late 1980s, however, the Latino rate dropped to less than 6%, most likely as a result of 1) the changing income demographics of the U.S. Latino population; 2) the growth of the Latino population in the West and South, regions where there are relatively few Catholic schools; and 3) the increasing suburbanization of the Latino population in the large metropolitan areas of the Northeast and Midwest, where Catholic schools are predominantly concentrated in urban areas.

The racial and ethnic differences in private school attendance rates are related in part, but not wholly, to differences in average income levels between white and non-white families. White family incomes are, on average, higher than those of black and Latino families. Students from wealthier families are, not surprisingly, more likely to attend private than public schools (Table 4). Only 3-5% of students from the lowest income families (those with annual incomes less than $20,000) are enrolled in private schools, compared to 16% of those from families with annual incomes above $50,000. Almost two-thirds of students in private schools (63%) are from families with incomes greater than $50,000; less than 40% of students in public schools are from similar families. Likewise, only 8% of private school students are from families with incomes below $20,000, compared to over 22% of public school students.

Because the CPS does not include data on the schools attended by students, other than whether they are public or private, no school-level breakdowns are possible by income level. The PSS data set, which does include individual school information, does not,

[4] Note that the CPS figures shown here are 3-year moving averages of annual estimates based on the CPS sample of the population. Slight differences in the 1997-98 CPS estimates here and the CCD/PSS estimates shown in Tables 1 and 2 are due to the fact that the CPS data are drawn from a 3-year population sample, while the CCD/PSS data are derived from a single year census of school enrollments.

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however, include any socioeconomic status information on students or their families, so again, no school-level breakdowns are possible by income level.

Figure 1: K-12 Private School Attendance Rates, by Race and Hispanic Origin, (3-year moving averages)
(Source: Current Population Surveys, October 1955-2000, authors' tabulations)

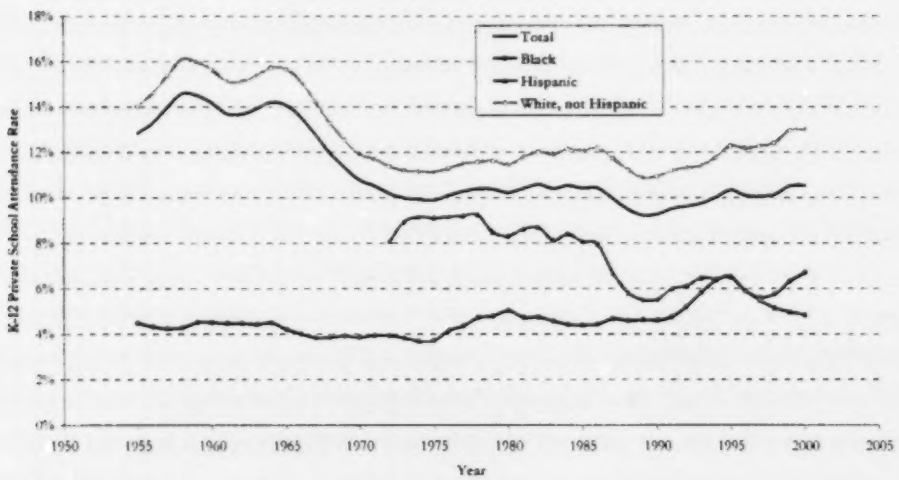


Table 4: Public and Private School Enrollment Distributions, by Family Income, 1998-2000
(Source: October Current Population Surveys, three-year averages, 1998-2000)

Annual Family Income	Percentage of Students in Family Income Group (Column Percentages)			Private School Enrollment Rate Within Income Category
	Public	Private	Total	
<$10,000	9.3%	3.1%	8.6%	3.8%
$10-15,000	7.3%	2.1%	6.7%	3.4%
$15-20,000	5.9%	2.7%	5.5%	5.3%
$20-25,000	7.4%	4.3%	7.0%	6.5%
$25-30,000	7.3%	4.2%	7.0%	6.6%
$30-35,000	6.6%	4.9%	6.4%	8.3%
$35-40,000	6.4%	6.3%	6.4%	10.5%
$40-50,000	10.1%	9.1%	10.0%	9.7%
$50-75,000	19.8%	26.4%	20.5%	13.8%
>$75,000	19.9%	36.9%	21.7%	18.2%
All	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	10.7%

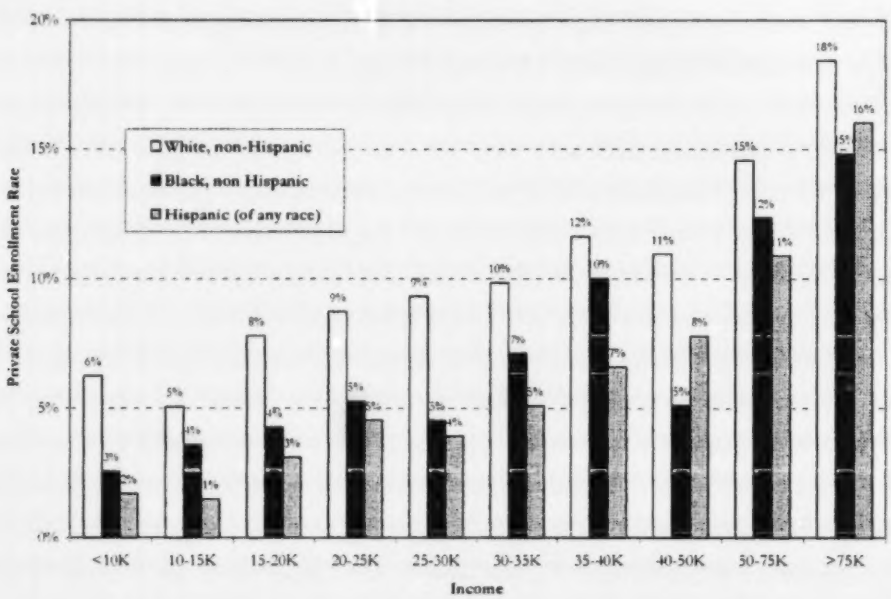
Note: this table excludes roughly 13% of students whose parent(s) declined to report family income on the CPS. These excluded students were slightly more likely to be enrolled in private schools (11.4%) than were included students (10.7%).

Despite the strong association between income and private school attendance rates, the income differences among white, black, and Latino families do not explain racial/ethnic differences in private school attendance rates. Figure 2 shows private school enrollment rates, by race/ethnicity and family income, in 1998-2000. At every income level, white students are more likely to be in private schools than are black and Latino students. In the lower part of the income distribution—at income levels below $30,000—whites are roughly twice as likely to attend private schools than are black and Latino students. The enrollment ratio narrows at the top of the income distribution, but white private enrollment rates are still two to four percentage points higher than black and Latino rates even among those families earning more than $50,000 annually.

The fact that white family incomes are, on average, greater than those of blacks and Latinos coupled with the fact that white private school enrollment rates are higher, at all income levels, than blacks and Latinos means that middle- and upper-middle-class white students are substantially over-represented in private schools. In fact, over half (53%) of all private school students in 1998-2000 were non-Latino white students from families with annual incomes over $50,000. The comparable figure in public schools was 32%.

Figure 2: K-12 Private School Enrollment Rates, by Race and Family Income, 1998-2000

(Source: October Current Population Surveys, three-year averages, 1998-2000)



2.3. Public and Private School Enrollment Differences by Grade Level

Because tuition costs are much higher in private high schools than in elementary schools, private school enrollment rates are highest in the lower grades. Eleven percent of K-4 students nationwide attend private schools, compared to 8% of high school students (Table 5). Racial and income differences in private school enrollment are evident at all grade

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levels, though these differences are most pronounced in the lower grade levels. For example, in kindergarten, 22% of white kindergarten students are enrolled in private schools, compared to 13% of black kindergarteners, 8% of Latino kindergarteners, and 20% of Asian kindergarteners. In high school however, these racial/ethnic differences are somewhat less pronounced—10% of white, 5% of black and Latino, and 8% of Asian high school students were enrolled in private schools in 1997-98.

Because students from low-income families generally cannot afford to pay tuition at private schools, there are only small differences in the private school enrollment rates across grades for students from low-income families. Generally, these families rely on scholarship assistance, even at low-tuition kindergarten schools. As a result, students from the poorest families (those earning less than $10,000/year) are enrolled in private kindergartens, elementary, and secondary schools at roughly the same rates (4%). Among wealthier families, however, tuition differences between private kindergartens and high schools result in very sizeable differences in enrollment rates—among the highest-income families (those earning $75,000/year or more), 32% of kindergarten children are enrolled in private schools, compared to 14% of high school students.

Table 5: Private School Enrollment Rates, by Grade Level and Type of Private School, 1997-98 School Year (in percents)
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

	Grades K-4	Grades 5-8	Grades 9-12	Total K-12
Public	89.0	90.6	92.0	90.4
Private	11.0	9.4	8.0	9.6
Catholic	5.3	4.9	4.3	4.9
Religious	3.9	3.1	2.2	3.2
Secular	1.6	1.1	1.3	1.4
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

3. Where are Private School Enrollments and Racial/Ethnic Differences Greatest?

3.1. Regional Differences

Private schools, on average, tend to be much smaller than public schools. Consequently, although private schools enroll only 10% of all students, they constitute 25% of all schools. Private schools are particularly common in the Northeast states, where they comprise just over a third of all schools (Table 6) and enroll 13.5% of all students (Table 7). Private schools enroll 11% of students in the Midwest, and only 8% of students in the South and West.

Several general patterns are evident from Tables 6 and 7. First, private school enrollment rates are generally greatest in the Northeast (13.5%) and Midwest (10.9%), and lowest in the South (8.0%) and West (7.9%). Second, private school enrollments are greatest among Catholic schools, followed by other religious schools, and least among secular private schools. Third, private school enrollments are greatest among white students (11.7%) and Asian students (11.3%), and much lower among Latino (5.6%), black (5.4%) and Native American (4.1%) students.

Table 6: Number of Schools by Sector and Region, 1997-98
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

Region	Public		Private		All Schools	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
West	19,490	74.2	6,767	25.8	26,257	100.0
Midwest	26,742	78.0	7,537	22.0	34,279	100.0
Northeast	14,743	66.4	7,444	33.6	22,187	100.0
South	29,511	77.6	8,506	22.4	38,017	100.0
Total	**90,486**	**74.9**	**30,254**	**25.1**	**120,740**	**100.0**

Table 7: Private School Enrollment Rates, by Region, Sector, and Race/Ethnicity, 1997-98 School Year (in percents)
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Native American	Total
West						
Catholic	3.3	2.2	2.7	4.8	1.7	3.1
Religious	4.3	3.4	1.1	4.0	1.6	3.2
Secular	2.2	2.1	0.5	2.2	0.7	1.6
Total Private	9.8	7.7	4.2	11.1	4.1	7.9
Midwest						
Catholic	7.7	3.6	7.5	6.3	2.9	7.1
Religious	3.4	2.0	1.3	2.4	1.3	3.1
Secular	0.7	1.1	0.8	2.4	1.0	0.8
Total Private	11.8	6.8	9.6	11.1	5.2	10.9
Northeast						
Catholic	9.1	5.8	7.5	7.9	5.7	8.4
Religious	3.4	2.1	0.7	1.3	1.0	2.9
Secular	2.4	2.1	1.1	3.4	2.5	2.3
Total Private	14.9	10.0	9.2	12.6	9.3	13.5
South						
Catholic	3.5	1.0	2.8	3.7	0.6	2.8
Religious	4.8	1.5	1.5	4.1	1.5	3.6
Secular	2.3	0.6	0.6	3.3	0.5	1.7
Total Private	10.6	3.1	4.9	11.1	2.7	8.0
Total U.S.						
Catholic	5.8	2.5	3.8	5.4	1.8	4.9
Religious	4.0	1.9	1.2	3.3	1.5	3.2
Secular	1.8	1.1	0.6	2.6	0.8	1.6
Total Private	11.7	5.4	5.6	11.3	4.1	9.7

There is some variation in these patterns, however, across regions of the U.S. In the West and South, for example, non-Catholic religious schools enroll more students than Catholic schools. As a result, Latino private school enrollment rates are particularly low in

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the West (4.2%) and South (4.9%) since most Latino private school students enroll in Catholic schools, which are concentrated in the Midwest and Northeast. In addition, Black private school enrollment is particularly low in the South (3.1%). Although the South has for long had the most integrated public schools in the nation (Orfield, 2001), Table 7 shows that *the South has the greatest segregation between the public and private sector of any region*—white and Asian private school enrollment rates are more than three times greater than black rates in the South, and more than double Latino rates.

The explanation for this pattern in the South may lie in the history of Southern private school development. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, many white families in Southern states enrolled their children in newly-opened "private academies." The purpose of these private schools was to keep white children out of desegregated public school systems, and they were initially funded with state tuition grants, free use of public facilities, tax deductions, and transportation until such support was ruled unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court, and enforced under Title VI (Levin 1999). These schools enrolled a substantial number of white students in the early 1970s—they enrolled roughly 750,000 students in 1975. In some states, such as Mississippi, nearly 20% of white students were enrolled in white private academies in the early 1970s (Andrews 2002). As a result, Southern states still have higher white secular private school enrollment rates than most other states (except for New England states, where secular prep schools are relatively common), but they no longer enroll so many students—in 1997-98, secular private schools in the South enrolled roughly 292,000 students (1.7% of all students) in 1997-98, of whom 241,000 (83%) were white (2.3% of all Southern white students). These changes suggest that white flight to the private sector in the South has declined dramatically since the 1970s.

3.2. State Patterns of Between Sector Segregation

Table 8 lists the 15 states with the highest private school enrollment rates (a full list of all states is in Appendix A). Thirteen of the top 15 states are in the Northeast or Midwest; the exceptions are Louisiana (which has a very high white Catholic school enrollment rate) and Hawaii (which has very high white and Asian religious school enrollment rates). Most of the states with the highest private school enrollment rates have high Catholic school enrollment rates.

Table 9 lists the race-specific private school enrollment rates for the same 15 states. A stark difference between white and black private school enrollments is evident in some states. In Louisiana, for example, the total student population of the state is 41% black and 56% white. However, because white private school enrollment rates are five times greater than black rates in Louisiana (22.4% to 4.5%), the racial composition of the public and private sectors are sharply different—the public schools are 51% white and 46% black, compared to 84% white and 12% black in the private schools. Similar patterns are evident in Mississippi (see Table A2 in Appendix A), where the total student population is 51% white and 47% black, but where white private school enrollment rates (15%) are 10 times greater than black private school enrollment rates (1.5%), resulting in a private sector that is 90% white and 8% black and a public sector that is 48% white and 51% black.

Table 8: Private School Enrollment Rates, by State and Sector, Ranked by Total Private School Enrollment Rate, 1997-98
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

	State	Private School Enrollment Rate(%)			
		Total	Catholic	Religious	Secular
1	DELAWARE	17.4	9.1	5.1	3.2
2	PENNSYLVANIA	15.5	10.3	3.6	1.7
3	LOUISIANA	14.9	10.0	2.9	2.0
4	HAWAII	14.5	4.8	8.0	1.7
5	RHODE ISLAND	14.2	10.1	1.3	2.8
6	NEW JERSEY	13.8	9.5	2.4	1.9
7	WISCONSIN	13.8	7.7	5.1	1.0
8	NEW YORK	13.6	8.1	3.7	1.9
9	MARYLAND	13.3	6.2	4.5	2.6
10	ILLINOIS	13.0	8.9	3.0	1.1
11	NEBRASKA	12.1	9.1	2.8	0.2
12	MASSACHUSETTS	11.9	7.2	1.2	3.6
13	OHIO	11.6	8.5	2.2	0.9
14	MISSOURI	11.4	7.8	2.6	1.1
15	CONNECTICUT	11.3	7.0	1.2	3.1

Table 9: Private School Enrollment Rates, by State and Race/Ethnicity, Ranked by Total Private School Enrollment Rate, 1997-98
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

	State	Private School Attendance Rate(%)					
		Total	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Indian
1	DELAWARE	17.4	22.4	5.8	8.4	23.3	16.3
2	PENNSYLVANIA	15.5	16.7	9.9	9.9	17.2	14.7
3	LOUISIANA	14.9	22.6	4.5	20.0	17.7	4.9
4	HAWAII	14.5	15.4	6.2	8.3	15.0	9.1
5	RHODE ISLAND	14.2	15.7	11.5	7.0	9.1	9.3
6	NEW JERSEY	13.8	15.3	10.6	11.4	13.9	7.9
7	WISCONSIN	13.8	14.9	7.8	10.7	7.0	6.8
8	NEW YORK	13.6	16.4	10.0	9.4	10.9	8.3
9	MARYLAND	13.3	17.1	7.1	10.6	12.9	7.4
10	ILLINOIS	13.0	14.9	8.6	9.7	13.3	13.3
11	NEBRASKA	12.1	13.0	5.6	5.9	12.2	3.7
12	MASSACHUSETTS	11.9	12.8	10.5	6.0	11.4	12.0
13	OHIO	11.6	12.4	6.8	14.7	17.6	14.9
14	MISSOURI	11.4	12.5	5.4	14.6	15.2	5.1
15	CONNECTICUT	11.3	12.8	7.4	5.5	14.3	10.1

In other states, segregation between the public and private sectors is much less pronounced. In Massachusetts, for example, the total school population is 78% white, 8% black, and 9% Latino. White and black private school enrollment rates are roughly similar (13% among whites and 11% among blacks), while Latino rates are somewhat lower (6%), resulting in a public sector that is 78% white, 8% black, and 10% Latino and a private sector that is 84% white, 7% black, and 5% Latino. While Latinos are underrepresented in private

schools and whites are over-represented, the difference between the sectors is not nearly so dramatic as in many other—particularly Southern—states.

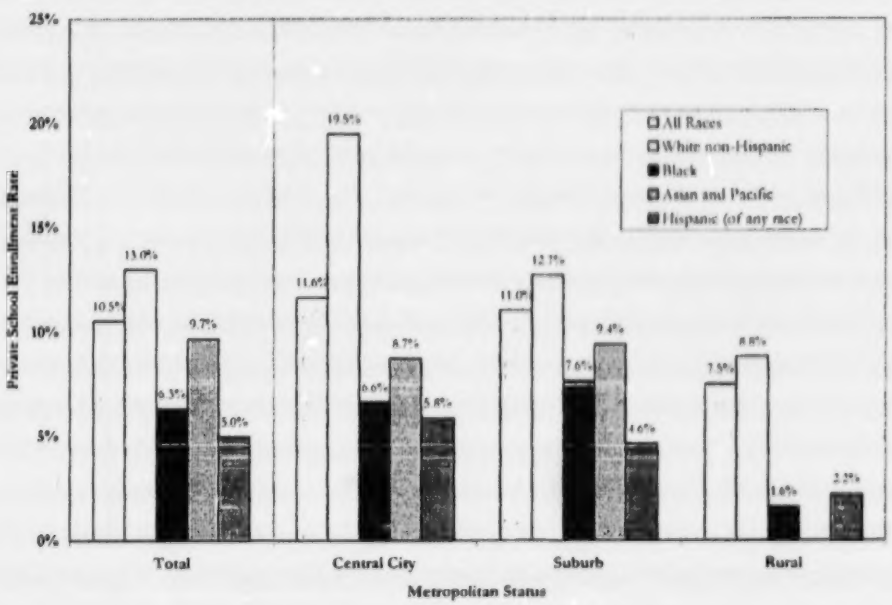
Clearly the effect of private school enrollment patterns on segregation varies widely across the country. In Southern states, in particular, white students typically enroll in private schools at three to five times the rate of black students, resulting in fairly substantial segregation between the public and private sectors in many Southern states.

3.3. Metropolitan Area Segregation Between The Public and Private Sectors

The bulk of private schools are in metropolitan areas. In 1997-98, 90% of students enrolled in private schools attended schools within metropolitan areas (for comparison, 80% of all U.S. K-12 students were enrolled in schools in metropolitan areas). Only 5% of students in rural areas were enrolled in private schools. Black and Latino private school enrollment rates are much lower in rural areas than in metropolitan areas (see Tables B1 and B2 in Appendix B for more detail). Within metropolitan areas, private school enrollment rates are similar in central cities and suburbs for all racial groups except whites. For example, while black, Asian, and Latino private school enrollment rates differ by no more than 1% between the central cities and suburbs, in central cities, almost 20% of white students are enrolled in a private school, compared to 13% of white students in the suburbs (Figure 3).

Figure 3: K-12 Private School Enrollment Rates, by Metropolitan Status and Race, 1998-2000

(Source: October Current Population Surveys, 1998-2000)



There is, of course, substantial variation across metropolitan areas in private school enrollment patterns. Table 10 lists the 20 metropolitan areas (of those with at least 25,000

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students) with the highest private school enrollment rates. With the exception of three Louisiana metropolitan areas and San Francisco, these metropolitan areas are all in the Midwest and Northeast, and include a number of moderate-sized to large metropolitan areas with substantial middle- and upper-income populations, such as Philadelphia, San Francisco, and New York, etc.

Table 10: Private School Enrollment Rates, by Metropolitan Area and Race/Ethnicity, Ranked by Total Private School Enrollment Rate, 1997-98, (Metropolitan Areas with at least 25,000 students)
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

		Private School Enrollment Rate(%)				
	Metropolitan Area	**Total**	**White**	**Black**	**Latino**	**Asian**
1.	New Orleans, LA	23.3	38.2	8.8	25.1	23.8
2.	San Francisco, CA	21.5	30.1	13.8	11.0	19.4
3.	Wilmington-Newark, DE-MD	21.3	26.2	7.8	10.2	27.6
4.	Philadelphia, PA-NJ	20.5	25.4	10.3	11.7	15.8
5.	Lafayette, LA	19.6	27.1	5.4	20.6	15.0
6.	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	19.0	21.3	7.0	34.3	24.1
7.	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	18.8	23.2	8.5	13.8	11.3
8.	Erie, PA	18.7	19.7	10.7	9.2	14.8
9.	New York, NY	18.6	37.7	11.0	10.0	10.9
10.	Lancaster, PA	18.6	20.5	6.4	6.2	11.3
11.	Baton Rouge, LA	18.2	27.9	4.4	21.1	13.5
12.	St. Louis, MO-IL	18.0	22.0	5.8	22.1	17.9
13.	Bergen-Passaic, NJ	17.9	20.2	12.7	16.0	12.9
14.	Louisville, KY-IN	17.9	22.0	1.8	13.1	21.6
15.	Trenton, NJ	17.5	21.9	10.5	12.5	9.5
16.	Jersey City, NJ	17.2	24.2	16.9	11.0	31.9
17.	South Bend, IN	16.9	19.9	4.6	9.5	19.8
18.	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre--Hazleton, PA	16.8	16.9	10.2	11.6	27.8
19.	Toledo, OH	16.8	18.2	10.6	14.2	28.2
20.	Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH	16.6	19.5	7.7	15.8	24.8

In most of these metropolitan areas, white private school enrollment rates are very high—in 7 of them more than a quarter of white students attend private schools. Table 11 lists the 20 metropolitan areas with the highest white private school enrollment rates. These metro areas include large, predominantly urban metropolitan areas such as New York, Jersey City, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. They also include a number of Southern metropolitan areas with large black and Latino populations like New Orleans, Miami, Baton Rouge, Lafayette LA, Jackson MS, Savannah GA, Albany GA, and Montgomery AL.

In these metropolitan areas, between 21% and 38% of white students are enrolled in private schools. Because black and Latino private school enrollment rates are never this high (at least not in metropolitan areas with substantial numbers of black and Latino students), private schools in these metropolitan areas are disproportionately white. In many of these metropolitan areas—particularly those in the South—the difference in percentage white between private and public sectors is over 30 percentage points. In the Jackson, MS metropolitan area, for example, 24% of white students and 3% of black students are enrolled in private schools, resulting in a public sector that is 38% white and 61% black, and a private sector that is 85% white and 13% black. Likewise, in the New York metropolitan area (which includes the counties of New York city as well as the northern suburbs in Putnam,

Rockland, and Westchester Counties), 38% of white students are enrolled in private schools, resulting in a public sector that is 23% white and a private sector that is 60% white. Not all metropolitan areas exhibit such stark differences in white and minority private school enrollment rates, of course, but in those that do, segregation between the public and private sectors is often dramatic.

Table 11: White Private School Enrollment Rates and Racial Composition of Schools, by Metropolitan Area, Ranked by White Private School Enrollment Rate, 1997-98, (Metropolitan Areas with at least 25,000 students)
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

	Metropolitan Area	White Private School Enrollment Rate(%)	White School Enrollment Percentage(%)			
			Total	Public	Private	Diff.
1.	New Orleans, LA	38.2	46.3	37.3	76.0	38.7
2.	New York, NY	37.7	29.7	22.7	60.1	37.4
3.	San Francisco, CA	30.1	41.1	36.6	57.6	21.1
4.	Baton Rouge, LA	27.9	58.1	51.3	88.7	37.4
5.	Lafayette, LA	27.1	64.8	58.7	89.5	30.8
6.	Wilmington-Newark, DE-MD	26.2	70.0	65.6	86.4	20.8
7.	Montgomery, AL	25.8	51.2	44.8	86.0	41.2
8.	Philadelphia, PA-NJ	25.4	65.3	61.2	81.1	19.9
9.	Miami, FL	25.1	15.4	13.2	31.2	18.0
10.	Jackson, MS	24.4	44.0	38.1	84.8	46.8
11.	Jersey City, NJ	24.2	24.0	21.9	33.9	12.0
12.	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	23.8	23.5	20.3	47.2	26.9
13.	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	23.2	66.1	62.5	81.9	19.4
14.	Savannah, GA	22.8	52.4	46.8	89.1	42.4
15.	Louisville, KY-IN	22.0	79.3	75.5	96.5	21.1
16.	St. Louis, MO-IL	22.0	73.7	70.1	90.0	19.8
17.	Albany, GA	21.9	40.5	35.2	87.7	52.5
18.	Trenton, NJ	21.9	59.9	56.6	75.2	18.6
19.	Mobile, AL	21.6	61.5	56.8	88.0	31.2
20.	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	21.3	82.1	79.8	91.8	12.0

3.4. District-Level Between Sector Segregation

The segregation between the public and private sectors is often even more dramatic within large school districts than it is within metropolitan areas as a whole. Many large school districts—particularly large urban districts—exhibit very high private school enrollment rates and considerable segregation between the public and private sectors.

Table 12 describes the racial composition and private school enrollment rates among students living in the 40 largest school districts in the 1989-90 school year.[5] Columns (1)-(3) describe the racial composition of the student population (both public and private

[5] These data are from the School District Data Book, a special tabulation of the 1990 Census that contains tabulations of census variables for every school district in the United States. We use these data here rather than the more recent 1997-98 CCD and PSS data used elsewhere in this report because the PSS contains enrollment data collected by school rather than by residential location. School-based enrollment data may not give an accurate picture of local enrollment patterns at levels of aggregation below the metropolitan area, since students may enroll in private schools that are physically located outside of the school district where they live.

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combined) residing within the district boundaries. Columns (4)-(7) give the private school enrollment rate, by race; column (8) gives the ratio of white private school enrollment rates to black private school enrollment rates.

Table 12: Public and Private School Racial Composition and Enrollment Rates by Race, 40 Largest School Districts 1989-90

(Source: School District Data Book, 1990)

	Total Public and Private Enrollment			Private School Enrollment Rate					White Proportion of School Enrollment		
School District	Pct. White (1)	Pct. Black (2)	Pct. Latino (3)	Total (4)	White (5)	Black (6)	Latino (7)	W/B Ratio (8)	Public (9)	Private (10)	Private -Public Diff. (11)
Memphis, TN	29	70	1	13	38	3	17	13.6	21	83	62
Cleveland, OH	36	56	6	23	47	8	22	6.3	25	74	49
Houston, TX	22	34	41	13	37	5	5	6.8	16	64	48
Milwaukee, WI	41	46	10	21	41	6	14	6.8	31	79	48
Baltimore, MD	27	71	1	16	40	7	20	5.5	19	66	47
Dallas, TX	25	41	32	13	33	5	7	6.9	19	65	46
Philadelphia, PA	41	47	8	31	55	13	19	4.3	27	72	46
Boston, MA	35	39	17	25	48	14	8	3.5	25	68	44
Orleans Parish, LA	18	77	3	23	65	13	30	4.8	8	50	42
East Baton Rouge Parish, LA	55	43	1	25	39	7	36	5.6	44	86	42
Washington, DC	12	81	5	19	67	12	16	5.9	5	44	39
Chicago, IL	22	48	26	23	54	11	17	4.7	13	51	38
New York City, NY	29	32	31	23	45	14	13	3.2	21	57	36
Jefferson Parish, LA	66	25	6	38	50	9	31	5.5	54	87	33
Los Angeles Unified, CA	20	14	57	16	37	15	7	2.5	15	48	33
Mobile County, AL	59	39	1	18	26	5	19	5.0	53	86	33
Mecklenburg County, NC	62	34	1	15	21	4	8	5.5	57	88	31
San Diego Unified, CA	42	14	27	12	20	5	7	3.7	38	68	30
Nashville-Davidson Co., TN	66	31	1	20	27	6	15	4.8	60	89	29
Dekalb County, GA	40	53	3	15	24	9	12	2.7	35	64	29
San Francisco Unified, CA	24	16	20	27	49	16	23	3.0	16	44	28
Jefferson County, KY	75	23	1	24	30	4	25	7.5	69	94	25
Long Beach Unified, CA	34	17	31	12	19	9	6	2.1	31	56	25
Palm Beach County, FL	67	22	10	19	24	6	13	4.1	62	85	22
Broward County, FL	61	26	11	18	24	8	14	3.1	57	79	22
Duval County, FL	63	31	3	16	20	7	14	3.1	60	81	21
Detroit, MI	13	83	3	14	35	11	20	3.2	10	31	21
Orange County, CA	63	22	12	13	16	4	10	3.8	60	80	20
Dade County, FL	25	28	46	18	30	7	18	4.2	21	41	20
Prince Georges County, MD	31	61	4	17	26	13	20	2.0	28	46	18
Albuquerque, NM	47	3	45	12	15	11	8	1.4	45	62	17
Montgomery County, MD	67	14	8	23	27	14	16	2.0	64	79	16
Hillsborough County, FL	65	19	14	17	19	8	16	2.6	63	77	14
Pinellas County, FL	79	15	3	17	19	5	16	3.6	77	89	12
Fairfax County, VA	74	9	6	18	20	9	16	2.2	72	82	10
Clark County, NV	69	13	14	9	10	5	6	2.0	68	78	10
Hawaii Dept. of Ed., HI	26	2	11	20	24	9	14	2.8	25	32	8
Baltimore County, MD	79	16	2	22	24	13	21	1.8	78	84	7
Jefferson County, CO	88	1	8	11	11	11	9	1.0	88	91	2
Granite, UT	89	1	6	6	6	4	6	1.6	89	90	1
Total	**38.8**	**32.3**	**21.8**	**19.0**	**30.9**	**10.0**	**11.8**	**3.1**	**33.1**	**62.9**	**29.8**

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This ratio is one measure of the extent to which private schools contribute to the segregated experiences of students living in each district. For example, in the Memphis school district, although 13% of all students are enrolled in private schools, a figure only slightly greater than the national average, there are sharp differences in enrollment rates by race: 38% of white students and 3% of black students are enrolled in private schools, a white/black enrollment ratio of 13.6 (the reported ratio does not exactly match the enrollment rates because of rounding). Columns (9)-(11) describe the resulting racial composition of the public and private sectors; column (11) is simply the difference between columns (10) and (9), and serves as a crude measure of the level of segregation between the public and private sectors. In Memphis, for example, although the student population living in the district is only 29% white, the dramatically different private school enrollment rates of white and black students results in a public sector that is 21% white and a private sector that is 83% white—a 62 percentage point difference in the average racial composition of public and private schools.

Table 12 describes these results for the 40 largest school districts in 1989-90 (as measured by total public and private school student populations), ranked by descending levels of segregation between the public and private sector [column (11)]. These 40 districts collectively were home to over 7 million students in 1989-90, 15% of all K-12 students in the U.S. Almost one-fifth of these 7 million students were enrolled in private schools. Private school enrollment rates among white students in these districts were particularly high—three times as high as black and Latino rates: 31% of white students were enrolled in private schools, compared to 10% of black and 12% of Latino students living in these districts.

The analysis in the preceding sections highlights the disproportionately high percentage of white students enrolled in private schools in the United States. Moreover, these differences, although relatively small nationally, are often quite stark when examined at the district level. This has important implications for policymakers since policies are implemented and have their effects at the district and metropolitan level. Therefore, the question of whether vouchers or private school choice will increase or decrease segregation in the private sector should be examined at these smaller levels of aggregation in addition to nationally and statewide since the more extreme enrollment differences that exist at the local level will surely mean the impact of these programs on the participating children will be more extreme than national or state numbers would suggest.

4. Segregation Among Private Schools

The preceding sections of this report have focused on segregation *between the public and private school sectors* by describing differential racial and socioeconomic private school enrollment rates. In this section, we turn our attention to patterns of segregation *within the private sector.*

In the past, although a great deal of attention has been paid to patterns of racial composition and segregation among public schools, relatively little research has focused on the racial composition and segregation of private schools. Several studies have used national probability samples—from the High School and Beyond Study (HSB) and the National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS)—to estimate levels of segregation among private schools. Coleman and his colleagues, using 1980 HSB data, find that black-white segregation is lower among private schools than among public schools, but that Latino-white

segregation is greater in the private sector than the public sector (Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore 1982a). Fairlie, however, using 1988 NELS data, finds that white private school students are more segregated from other students than those in public schools, while black and Latino students are more integrated with other students in the private sector than the public sector (Fairlie 2000). One key problem with both of these studies is that they rely on relatively small samples of private schools (roughly 200 private schools) that are insufficient to conduct detailed analyses and which provide relatively imprecise estimates of private school segregation. Moreover, Fairlie uses a relatively crude measure of segregation that confounds segregation between the public and private sector with segregation within the private sector, so his results must be interpreted with some caution. As a result of the weaknesses of these studies and the dearth of more comprehensive studies, we know little about the racial distribution of students among private schools—and little about the racial and socioeconomic enrollment patterns that might result from voucher programs.

The overrepresentation of white students in the private sector does not necessarily imply that there is substantial segregation *within* the private sector. It is possible that racial composition may be fairly uniform across private schools, so that, despite the overrepresentation of white students in private schools, private schools would be less segregated than their public school counterparts. Conversely, there may instead be considerable racial sorting among private schools, resulting in levels of segregation in the private sector that are comparable to, or even higher than, those in the public sector.

In this section we examine segregation among private schools by examining the exposure index. The exposure index can be thought of as the percentage of a particular racial group in the school of the average student of another group (Massey and Denton 1988; Orfield, Bachmeier, James, and Eitle 1997; Orfield, Glass, Reardon, and Schley 1993). In other words, a private school black-white exposure index of 34% (Table 13) means that, on average, black students in private schools are enrolled in schools where 34% of the students are white. Likewise a white-white private school exposure index of 88% (Table 13) means that, on average, white private school students attend schools where 88% of the students are white. If there were no black-white segregation among private schools, all black and white private school students would attend schools where 78% of students were white, equal to the proportion of white students in the overall private school population. Thus, the black-white exposure index of 34% and the white-white index of 88% indicate considerable segregation within the private sector overall—blacks are disproportionately concentrated in schools with low concentrations of white students, while whites are disproportionately concentrated in schools with high concentrations of white students.

The exposure index is a summary measure—it describes the average exposure of one group to another among schools. In addition to reporting exposure indices here, we also describe the distribution of schools attended by members of different racial/ethnic groups. These distributions allow us to examine the underlying structure of segregation in more detail than possible with the summary exposure measures. For instance, a black-white exposure index of 34% can result from a variety of possible distributions: for example, all black students could attend schools with 34% white students; or half of black students could attend schools with no white students, while half attended schools with 68% white students, and so on. In fact, we find that the latter pattern is the norm among schools, and that it is most extreme in the private sector. This suggests that greater access to private schools may not, in fact, lead to greater integration for minority or white children. Instead, the bulk of minority students who attend private schools attend predominantly minority institutions.

4.1. Inter-Racial Exposure Among Public and Private Schools

Comparing the racial distributions of public and private schools for the average student of each race reveals the extent of segregation among public and private schools, as shown in Table 13. In both sectors the most racially isolated group are white students, although in private schools the average white student is even more isolated than in public schools. In public schools the average white student attends a school that is 19% non-white and 81% white, in private schools the average white student attends a school that is only 12% non-white and 88% white. Private school white students are in schools with half as many black students as public school white students, and two-thirds as many Latinos.

Table 13. Racial Composition of Public and Private Schools Attended by the Average Student of Each Race (Exposure Indices), by Type of School, 1997-1998
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

	Racial Composition of School Attended by Average...					Overall School Composition
	...White Student	...Black Student	...Latino Student	...Asian Student	...Native American Student	
ALL PUBLIC SCHOOLS						
% White	80.9	32.6	29.7	46.7	48.9	63.6
% Black	8.7	54.0	12.0	12.1	6.9	16.9
% Latino	6.7	10.1	52.6	18.4	9.5	14.4
% Asian	2.9	2.8	5.0	22.0	2.5	3.9
% Native	0.9	0.5	0.8	0.7	32.2	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
ALL PRIVATE SCHOOLS						
% White	88.4	34.3	41.1	52.5	45.2	78.2
% Black	4.0	53.3	9.8	6.9	5.8	9.6
% Latino	4.2	8.6	41.9	11.5	7.6	6.7
% Asian	3.1	3.5	6.7	28.7	4.4	5.0
% Native	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	36.9	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
CATHOLIC SCHOOLS						
% White	88.5	31.2	36.4	51.8	43.4	76.6
% Black	3.3	53.2	8.9	6.7	4.6	8.1
% Latino	5.0	11.7	47.5	16.7	8.9	10.6
% Asian	2.9	3.6	6.8	24.4	4.1	4.3
% Native	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	39.1	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
NON-CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS						
% White	88.5	31.2	36.4	51.8	43.4	76.6
% Black	4.0	56.8	10.0	6.9	6.1	9.5
% Latino	3.2	5.3	32.2	7.2	6.6	5.0
% Asian	2.4	3.0	5.8	37.9	3.8	4.1
% Native	0.3	0.3	0.7	0.5	37.7	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
SECULAR PRIVATE SCHOOLS						
% White	84.7	40.6	50.4	60.3	48.2	76.0
% Black	6.0	47.4	14.8	7.1	8.2	11.2
% Latino	3.7	7.3	26.7	6.1	6.8	5.5
% Asian	5.3	4.2	7.4	25.9	6.4	6.7
% Native	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.5	30.5	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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On average, the private schools attended by black students are similar in their racial composition to the public schools attended by black students. The average black student in public schools attends a school that is 33% white and 54% black, while the average black private school student attends a school that is 34% white and 53% black. In both sectors this represents a significant level of segregation, given that black students make up only 17% of all public school students and 10% of private school students. Moreover, because white students make up a much larger share of the private school population than the public school population, the equal patterns of exposure to whites in public and private schools indicate that *black-white segregation is greater among private schools than among public schools, since the pool of white students available to attend the schools where black students are enrolled is so much larger in the private sector.*

Latino students in private schools are, in contrast, less segregated from white students than they are in public schools. The average Latino student in public schools attends a school that is 30% white and 53% Latino, while the average Latino private school student attends a school that is 41% white and 42% Latino. While this still represents significant Latino-white segregation in private schools, it nonetheless indicates that Latino students in private schools encounter, on average, greater proportions of white students in their schools than do Latino public school students. *Latino-white segregation is lower among private schools than public schools, both in terms of absolute exposure and relative to the racial composition of each sector.*

Asian-white segregation is lower among private schools than public schools, though Asian students are considerably less segregated from whites in both the public and private sector than are black and Latino students. In addition, in both the public and private sectors, Asian students are more likely than white students to attend schools with substantial numbers of black and/or Latino students, indicating that Asian students are not only less segregated from whites than are other groups, but they are less segregated from other minority students as well. This is due in part to regional patterns—Asian and Latino students tend to live in the same areas of the country, and so are more likely to attend the same schools.

There are some significant differences in the levels of segregation among the three major segments of the private school sector. In general, segregation levels are lower among secular private schools than among Catholic schools or among other religious schools. Moreover, although white students in all three private sectors are more racially isolated than in public schools, black students in secular private schools attend schools that are, on average, 41% white, while Latino secular school students attend schools that are, on average, 50% white. Both of these figures are substantially higher than in public and Catholic schools. *Black-white and Latino-white segregation are lower among secular private schools than among religious private schools and public schools.*

The exposure indices reported in Table 13 describe the average experiences of students of different races in different sectors of schooling. As such, they provide a direct measure of average racial contact among racial groups. However, these exposure indices may differ across sectors for two distinct reasons. First, they may differ because some sectors have a higher proportion of white students than others. Second, they may differ because of differences among the levels of racial sorting or segregation present within each sector. In order to isolate the level of sorting and segregation *within each sector*, we must use a different approach to measuring segregation than the exposure index used above.

Table 14 reports the level of segregation within each sector using the normalized exposure index, which measures segregation independent of the racial composition of the

sector. A value of 0 on the normalized exposure index would indicate no segregation (all schools within the sector have the same proportion of white students); a value of 1 indicates total segregation from white students (no black or Latino student attends a school with any white students).[6]

Table 14: Level of Segregation From White Students, by Race and School Sector (Normalized Exposure Index)
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

Type of School	Black-White	Latino-White	Asian-White
Public	.488	.533	.266
All Private	.560	.472	.326
Catholic	.592	.525	.324
Non-Catholic Religious	.572	.366	.412
Secular Private	.466	.337	.207

By this measure of segregation (as well as by a variety of other measures not shown here, such as the dissimilarity index and other commonly used measures of segregation), black-white segregation is highest among Catholic schools, followed closely by non-Catholic religious schools, and then by public schools—confirming our findings using the regular exposure index. Secular private schools have the lowest levels of black-white segregation. Latino-white segregation, in contrast, is greater among public schools than among private schools, though Latino-white segregation among Catholic schools is almost as great as among public schools. Latino segregation among other religious schools and secular private schools is considerably lower than the comparable levels for blacks and much lower than Latino public and Catholic school segregation. Asian-white segregation is greater among private schools, particularly among non-Catholic religious schools, than among public schools. In all sectors, however, Asian-white segregation is generally much lower than Black and Latino segregation from whites.

4.2. The Distribution of Private School Segregation

The tables and graphs that follow indicate the distribution of the racial composition of schools attended by students of each racial/ethnic group. These are then broken down by the sector of the school (public or private) and the type of private school (Catholic, other religious, secular). For example, Table 15 describes how students are distributed among schools with different proportions of white students. Column 1 indicates that 48.9% of white K-12 students in the U.S. attend schools—public or private—whose student bodies are 90-100% white. Columns 2 and 3, similarly, indicate that over a third of both black and Latino students attend schools where white students make up fewer than 10% of the student enrollment. Overall, 11.6% of U.S. students attend schools that are less than 10% white, and 33.1% attend schools that are 90-100% white.

[6] The normalized exposure index is simply the difference between the overall percentage of white students in the sector as a whole and the exposure index, normalized by dividing the difference by the percentage of white students in the sector [$N = (\%WHT - EXP) / \%WHT$] (Massey and Denton 1988). So, for example, the black-white exposure index in public schools is 32.6, while the public school composition is 63.6% white. This gives a normalized exposure index of 48.8, indicating that the exposure index is slightly over half of what it would be in the case of no segregation.

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Table 15: Distribution of School Percentage White and Average Percentage White in School, by Student Race, all Public and Private Schools, 1997-98
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

Percentage White in School	Student Race/Ethnicity					
	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Native American	Total
0-10%	0.5	34.9	35.2	13.4	22.5	11.6
10-20%	1.1	9.4	13.2	12.7	5.5	4.6
20-30%	1.6	7.8	9.8	9.8	5.1	4.1
30-40%	2.4	7.9	8.4	8.3	6.0	4.4
40-50%	3.5	8.5	7.4	8.6	6.9	5.1
50-60%	5.4	9.2	7.0	8.5	8.9	6.4
60-70%	7.4	7.9	6.0	9.0	10.5	7.4
70-80%	11.0	6.6	5.3	10.2	11.4	9.5
80-90%	18.3	5.0	4.7	11.0	13.2	13.9
90-100%	48.9	2.9	3.0	8.5	10.2	33.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average Percentage White in School	81.7	32.7	30.3	47.3	48.8	65.0

The bottom row of Table 15 reports the percentage of students who are white in the school of the average student of each racial/ethnic group (this figure is the exposure index from Table 13 above). So, on average, white students attend schools that are 81.7% white; black students attend schools that are 32.7% white; Latino students attend schools that are 30.3% white; and so on. Note that the total K-12 student population in the U.S. in 1997-98 was 65% white, so if there were no segregation, all students would attend schools that were 65% white.

We include a full set of tables describing the racial composition of schools attended by K-12 students in the U.S. in Appendix C (see Tables C1-C5) of this report. In addition, we display some of this information graphically, as shown below. For example, Figure 4 displays the first three columns of information from Table 15 in graphical form. In this figure, it is dramatically clear how the schools attended by white, black, and Latino students differ in their racial compositions.

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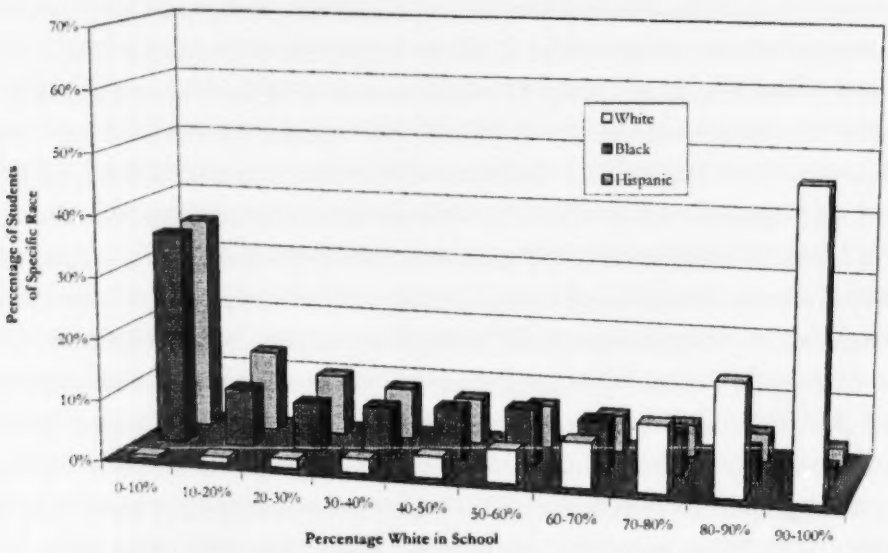
Figure 4: Distribution of Students by Percentage White in School, by Race/Ethnicity (All Public and Private Schools)

(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)



The following two figures show the same information separately for public and private schools. White students in private schools are more likely to be in predominantly white schools than are whites in public schools; this is not particularly surprising, given the fact that private schools enroll proportionately more whites than public schools. What is striking, here however, is that black students in private schools are more likely to be in predominantly non-white schools than are black students in public schools. Despite the fact that only 22% of private school students are non-white, 43.7% of black private school students attend schools that are 90-100% non-white. In public schools, where there are a greater percentage of non-white students (35% of all public school students), only 34.4% of black students attend 90-100% non-white schools. Tables C1 and C2 (in Appendix C) indicate that the typical black private school student attends a school that is 34.3% white, while the typical black public school student attends a school that is only slightly less white (32.6% white). Given that the percentage of white students is much higher in private schools than public schools, these data indicate that *black-white segregation is greater among private schools than among public schools.*

Latino students, however, are more evenly distributed among private schools than among public schools. In public schools, 35% of Latino students are in 90-100% non-white schools, roughly the same percentage as black public school students. In private schools, however, only 27.1% of Latino students are in 90-100% non-white schools, far fewer than the proportion of black private school students. The typical Latino private school student attends a school that 41.1% white, while the typical Latino public school student attends a school that is only 29.7% white (see Tables C1 and C2 in Appendix C). Thus, *Latino-white segregation among private schools is less than among public schools.*

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Figure 5: Distribution of Students by Percentage White in School, by Race/Ethnicity (All Private Schools)
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

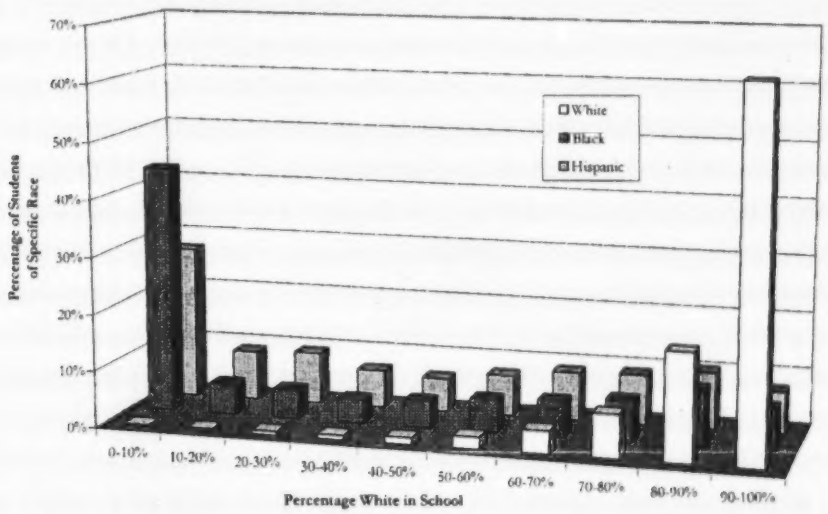
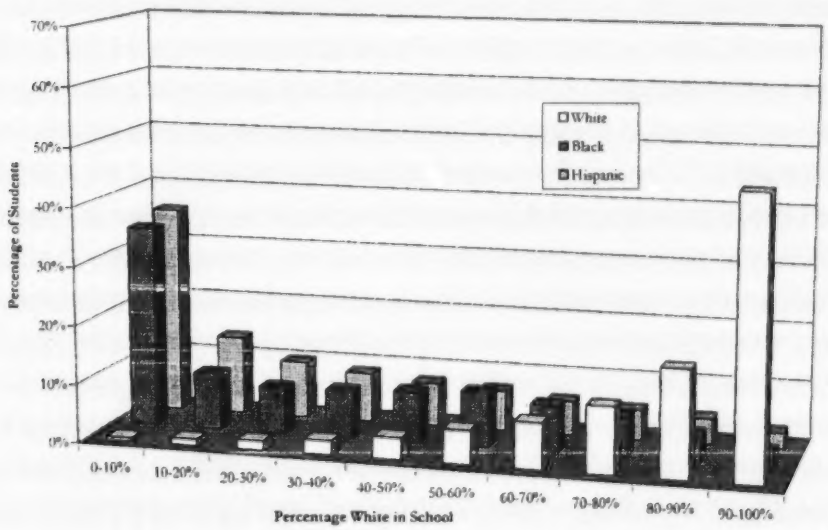


Figure 6: Distribution of Students by Percentage White in School, by Race/Ethnicity (All Public Schools)
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)



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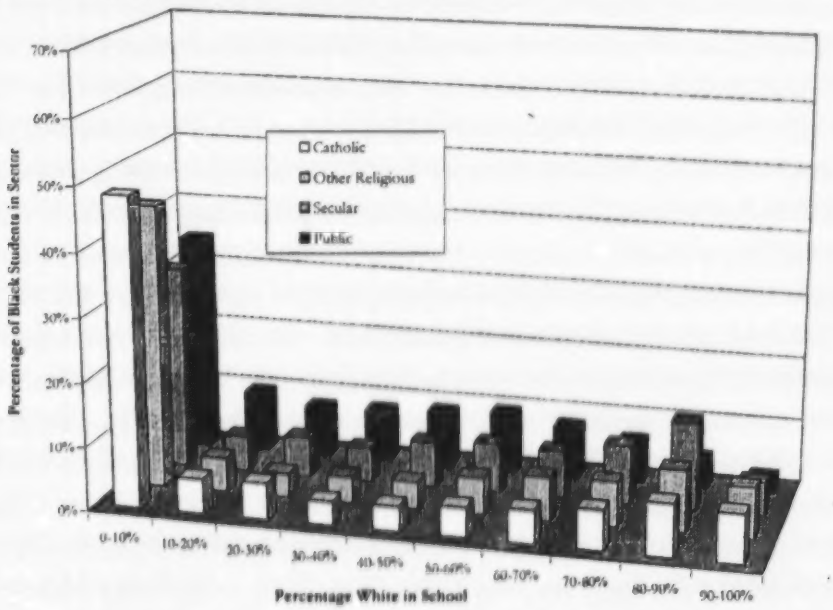
The preceding figures and tables show that black-white segregation is, in general, greater among private schools than among public schools, while Latino-white segregation is lower among private schools than among public schools. These segregation levels, however, differ by the type of private schools. Catholic schools, which are predominantly located in metropolitan areas in the Northeast and Midwest, have the highest levels of black-white segregation. Almost half of all black students in Catholic schools (48.4%) attend schools that are 90-100% non-white. Other religious schools have similarly high levels of black-white segregation. These patterns are illustrated in Figure 7 (see also Appendix C, Tables C3-C5 for more detail).

Figure 7: Distribution of Black Students by Percentage White in School, by Sector
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)



For Latino students, segregation levels among Catholic schools are similar to those among public schools, but much lower among other religious and secular private schools. Since two-thirds of Latino students in private schools attend Catholic schools, however, the relatively low levels of Latino segregation in non-Catholic religious and secular private schools contribute little to reducing overall levels of Latino-white segregation. Figure 8 and Appendix C describe these patterns in more detail.

White students experience greater diversity, on average, in secular private schools than in other private schools, though not as high as in public schools. The average non-white enrollment in public schools attended by white students is 19%; among secular private schools, this figure is 15%, while it is 12% among Catholic schools and 10% among other religious schools (Figure 9).

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Figure 8: Distribution of Latino Students by Percentage White in School, by Sector
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

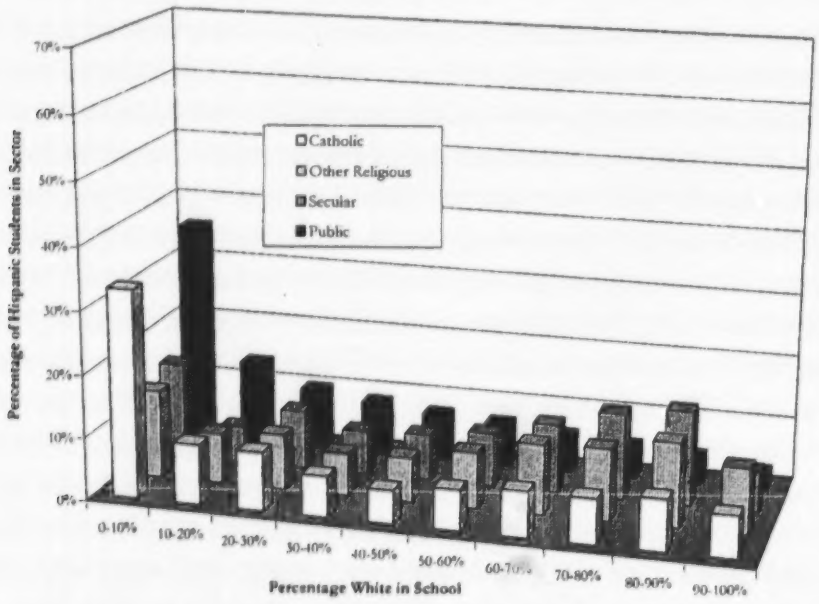
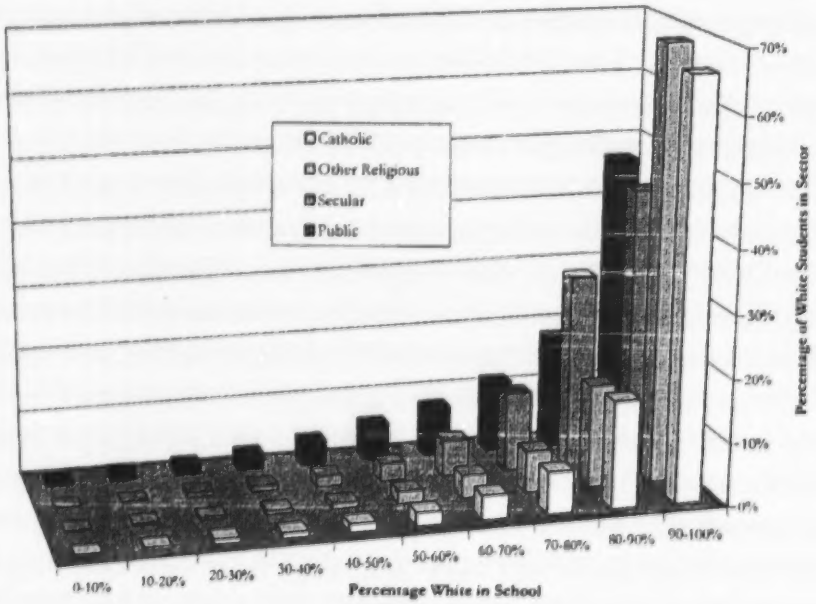


Figure 9: Distribution of White Students by Percentage White in School, by Sector
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)



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One of the consistent findings evident in these data is that secular private schools are the most integrated segment of the private school sector. Not only are overall secular private school enrollments more diverse than Catholic and other religious enrollments (see Table 3 above), but minority and white students are more likely to attend the same secular private schools than the same Catholic or other religious schools. This pattern is likely due to several factors. First, secular private schools generally draw students from a wider geographic region than a local neighborhood, while many Catholic and religious schools draw their student bodies primarily from local parishes and neighborhoods. Given high levels of residential segregation and absent any systematic effort on the part of most Catholic and other religious schools to address segregated enrollment patterns, the racial composition in religious private schools often mirrors segregated residential patterns. In addition, secular private schools more often than religious schools actively seek racial diversity in their student body through the use of scholarships and recruitment efforts.

Second, some types of religious schools enroll disproportionate numbers of students of a given racial or ethnic group because of racial and ethnic differences in religious affiliation (so, for example, 99% of students enrolled in Jewish schools are white, because there are very few non-white Jews, while 58% of students in AME-affiliated schools are black, because of the largely black membership in AME churches). However, these racial differences in religious affiliation account for only 10-15% of the total segregation among non-Catholic religious schools; the bulk of segregation among religious schools is due to differences in enrollment patterns among schools of the same affiliation.

4.3. Metropolitan Private Sector Segregation

Just as there is considerable local variation across the U.S. in private school enrollment rates, there is also considerable local variation in patterns of segregation within the private sector. In this section we consider patterns of segregation among metropolitan areas. Eighty percent of the U.S. K-12 student population attended school within metropolitan areas in 1997-98. Moreover, metropolitan areas are an important context for studying patterns of schooling, since they generally encompass and define both local housing and schooling markets. Although families living in metropolitan areas often choose where to live based in part on school district characteristics, they generally limit their choice set to residential locations within the local metropolitan area. Moreover, when choosing whether to enroll their children in private schools, few families (with the exception of the very small minority whose children attend private boarding schools) consider private schools outside of their local schooling market, which is rarely larger than the local metropolitan area. They may, however, choose private schools in nearby communities outside of the residential public school district in which they live. For these reasons, metropolitan areas—even more than school districts—probably represent the most reasonable approximation of the housing and schooling market for the vast majority of families.

Table 16 describes the racial composition and exposure indices in the public and private schools of the 20 largest metropolitan areas in the U.S. (as measured by total student populations). In these 20 metropolitan areas, there are some 15 million students—30% of all K-12 students in the United States. The overall student population in these metropolitan areas is 52% white, considerably lower than the total U.S. population. The private schools in these areas—which enroll over 1.8 million students, almost two-fifths of all private school students in the U.S.—are 70% white, however, because white students are enrolled in private schools at double the rate (17%) of other students (8%).

Table 16: Racial Composition and Exposure to White Students, by Race and Sector, 20 Largest Metropolitan Areas, 1997-98
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

		PUBLIC SCHOOLS				PRIVATE SCHOOLS			
	MSA School Percent White	Public School Percent White	Percentage White in the School Attended by the Average ...			Private School Percent White	Percentage White in the School Attended by the Average ...		
Metropolitan Area			...White Student	...Black Student	...Latino Student		...White Student	...Black Student	...Latino Student
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	23.5	20.3	47.0	13.8	11.3	47.2	70.8	20.5	23.6
New York, NY	29.7	22.7	58.2	8.9	11.5	60.1	85.3	15.6	23.4
Chicago, IL	53.6	51.0	78.0	13.1	27.2	68.4	85.4	19.3	40.1
Philadelphia, PA-NJ	65.3	61.2	82.6	23.1	29.0	81.1	91.1	31.2	47.1
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	53.4	51.4	70.7	24.5	38.8	67.7	80.6	29.3	61.8
Detroit, MI	67.4	66.3	90.2	11.8	57.6	76.2	90.6	20.4	58.2
Houston, TX	41.4	39.5	64.3	19.3	23.3	67.3	79.4	29.4	46.6
Atlanta, GA	58.4	57.0	78.4	24.7	46.4	76.3	87.7	30.7	66.1
Riverside-San Bernardino, CA	42.9	41.5	52.8	33.4	32.4	65.5	72.6	50.3	50.8
Dallas, TX	52.5	51.0	69.7	27.7	30.4	72.8	82.2	42.4	49.3
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	81.8	80.9	88.0	43.4	61.8	90.2	92.6	60.6	80.5
Boston, MA-NH	76.8	75.9	86.8	35.3	39.5	82.4	88.7	42.4	57.4
Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	60.6	59.7	73.3	42.1	36.9	76.9	83.4	56.5	53.4
Orange County, CA	46.8	44.1	62.7	43.8	23.8	69.8	77.7	48.6	52.8
San Diego, CA	46.4	44.5	60.4	30.1	30.5	68.3	78.4	43.2	44.9
St. Louis, MO-IL	73.7	70.1	85.3	31.8	71.6	90.0	94.7	38.2	80.4
Nassau-Suffolk, NY	75.0	74.5	83.8	36.2	50.6	79.6	85.4	49.0	64.8
Baltimore, MD	61.9	59.1	81.0	23.1	62.9	78.7	88.4	35.3	62.8
Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH	71.6	69.2	87.9	22.1	47.6	83.8	91.5	30.9	69.4
Oakland, CA	45.0	43.8	62.2	19.2	31.8	54.4	68.6	28.8	42.1
20 Largest MSAs	**51.6**	**49.9**	**74.9**	**20.2**	**22.5**	**69.9**	**85.2**	**26.3**	**36.0**
All MSAs	**61.5**	**59.7**	**78.6**	**30.5**	**27.9**	**76.3**	**87.5**	**33.5**	**40.5**

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In addition to the segregation between the public and private sectors, segregation *within* the public and private sectors is considerable in these largest metropolitan areas. Although the public schools are 50% white, white students attend public schools that are, on average, 75% white, while black and Latino students attend public schools that are, on average, only 20% and 23% white, respectively. Similarly extreme segregation occurs within the private sector. Although private schools in these large metropolitan areas are 70% white, white students attend private schools that are, on average, 85% white, while black and Latino students attend private schools that are, on average, only 26% and 36% white, respectively. Segregation patterns are only slightly less extreme in the public and private schools of smaller metropolitan areas. The patterns of segregation in the public and private sectors across metropolitan areas are evident in Figure 10, which shows the average percentage of white students in public and private schools attended by white students for all 328 metropolitan areas, plotted against the percentage white in the metropolitan area. In this figure, the diagonal line indicates the exposure index expected if white students attended schools proportionally to their presence in the metropolitan area as a whole. Values above the line indicate that white students are concentrated in schools with other white students, and the further from the diagonal line a point is, the greater the racial isolation of white students. From Figure 10 it is clear that the public schools (represented by open triangles) are much closer to the proportional line than are the private schools. In fact, the more minority students are present in the metropolitan area, the farther private schools (represented by the squares) stray from the proportional line suggesting a relationship between minority presence in the metropolitan area, and the racial isolation of whites in private schools.

Figure 10: Average Exposure of White Students to White Students Within Metropolitan Area Schools, by Public and Private Sector and Minority Proportion of Metropolitan Area

(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

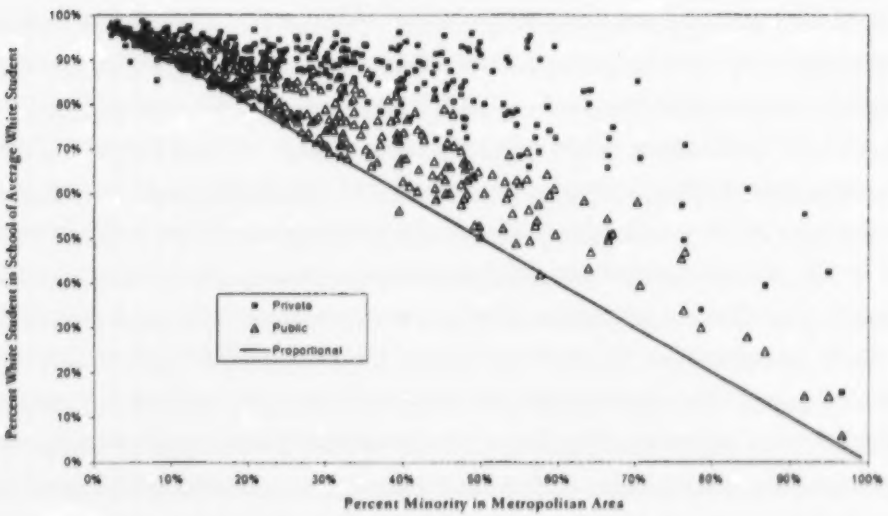

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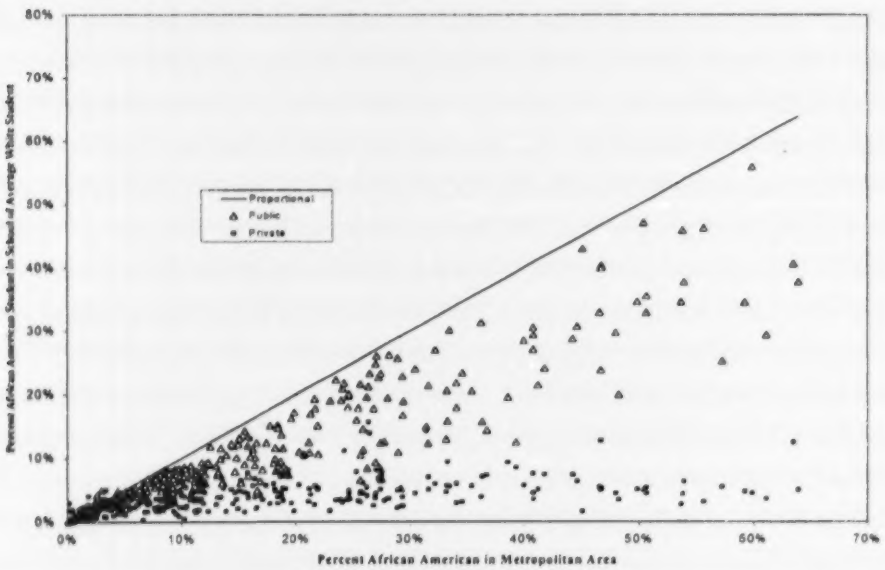
Figure 11: Average Exposure of White Students to Black Students Within Metropolitan Area Schools, by Public and Private Sector and Minority Proportion of Metropolitan Area

(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)



Conversely, Figure 11 displays how the exposure of white students to black students varies with the minority composition of the metropolitan area. As the proportion of African American students increases in a metropolitan area, the percent of African Americans in the school of the average white private school student remains virtually constant. Thus, on average, white private school students who are in metropolitan areas with 5% African American students, have the same exposure to black students as white private school students who are in metropolitan areas where black enrollments exceed 60%. In virtually all 328 metropolitan areas in the U.S., the average white private school student attends a school with roughly 3-5% black students, regardless of the overall composition of the metropolitan area student body. In only 8 of 328 metropolitan areas do white private school students attend schools with an average of 10% black students or more, despite the fact that half of all metropolitan areas have black student populations greater than 10%.

The patterns evident in Figures 10 and 11 are the result of a combination of factors. In part, the low levels of white private school students' exposure to black students is a result of segregation between the public and private sectors—white students are disproportionately over-represented and black students are under-represented in the private sector. Additionally, the low private school white-black exposure levels in metropolitan areas are a result of the substantial degree of segregation within the private sector. This within-sector segregation may, in turn, be due to a variety of metropolitan area structural factors—such as residential segregation and local concentrations of poverty—and features of the private sector itself—such racial differences in enrollment in different types of private schools,

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tuition structures, the spatial distribution of private schools, and private school admissions policies. And while our data do not enable us to determine the contribution of each of these factors to private school segregation, they do clearly indicate that one or a combination of factors act to systematically isolate white students from black students among schools within the private sector. More analysis is needed to determine what mechanisms are at work here, but even so, these data clearly challenge those who suggest that private schools are less segregated than public schools.

5. Private School Enrollment and 'White Flight'

The previous sections present a thorough picture of the level and type of segregation that exists within and between the public and private school sectors. However these data by themselves do not provide much insight into the reasons for the high levels of private sector segregation within many local schooling markets. Moreover, as we have pointed out above, a full analysis of the reasons for patterns of private school segregation is beyond the scope of this paper. However, we can investigate one possible explanation for the observed patterns of private school enrollments—the possibility that private school segregation is, in part, a result of 'white flight' from high-minority school populations in the public sector.

Debates about 'white flight' have been part of discussions of segregation throughout the post-*Brown* era. The extent to which the private sector acts as a secondary segregative mechanism is particularly important in an era where private school voucher policies are being advocated and seriously considered, since it is possible that public funding of private schools may turn out to increase school segregation if any expansion of the private sector is not accompanied by attention to the resulting patterns of racial enrollment.

A number of studies have found some evidence of white flight to the private sector. In particular, research has found that white private school enrollment rates are higher in local schooling markets (usually defined by school districts, counties, or metropolitan areas) with higher concentrations of black students (Conlon and Kimenyi 1991; Fairlie and Resch 2002; Gemello and Osman 1984; Lankford and Wycoff 2000; Lankford, Lee, and Wycoff 1995; Schmidt 1992). Moreover, many of these studies include controls for income, and conclude that racial differences in private school enrollment rates cannot be explained by racial differences in income alone (Betts and Fairlie 2001). Our analyses here add to this body of research.

To investigate whether 'white flight' may explain some of the variation in white private school enrollment rates, we examine the relationship between white private school enrollment rates and the racial composition, size, poverty rates, and segregation levels of the 100 largest school districts in the U.S. These analyses were performed using district-level data from the 1990 Census, obtained from the School District Data Book (SDDB).[7] We chose the 100 largest districts because they are the ones most likely to be affected by private school voucher programs. Three-eighths (37%) of private school students in the U.S. lived within the boundaries of these 100 districts in 1990, as did 56%of minority private school students.

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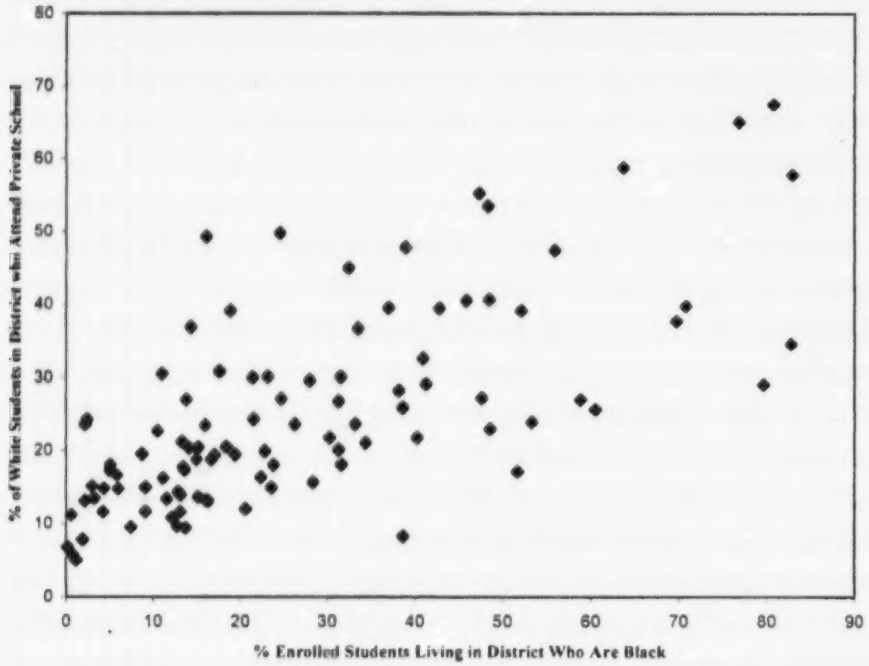
[7] We use SDDB data rather than the more recent 1997-98 CCD and PSS data because the SDDB allows us to relate private school enrollment patterns to the demographic characteristics of a residential public school district population—which is the population that families are likely to consider in making decisions about public or private schooling.

Figure 12 shows a strong positive relationship between the proportion of students who are black in a district and the percentage of white students living in the district who are enrolled in private schools. Districts that have small percentages of black students have, on average, much lower white private school enrollment rates than districts that have high black student proportions, a pattern that is consistent with the hypothesis that white parents avoid sending their children to public schools in districts with high percentages of black students.

Figure 12: White Private School Enrollment Rate by Black Percentage of Student Population, Students Living in 100 Largest School Districts, 1989-90
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)



However, this simple relationship may be misleading. For instance, the observed relationship might disappear if we took into account the poverty level of the school district populations. In order to investigate these patterns more carefully, we fit a set of linear regression models that take into account factors such as the poverty rate of the district, the size of the district, and the level of black-white segregation in the public schools of the district (see appendix D for detailed regression results). Regardless of the variables we used as controls, the strongest predictor of white private school enrollment rates in all our models was the percentage of students living in the district who are black. In fact, the percent black in the district alone explained 49 percent of the variance in white private school enrollment rates. When control variables were added to the model the effect of the percent of black students was only marginally decreased, and remained statistically significant. The results of our regression analysis suggest that some—but by no means all—white families may decide

to send their children to private schools in part to avoid public school systems with high concentrations of black students. Note however, that these results are merely suggestive; our data do not allow us to determine with certainty the causal mechanisms underlying patterns of high white private school enrollments in many areas with large black population

6. Conclusion

Given the clear evidence reported here of racially segregated enrollment patterns both within the private school sector and between the public and private sectors, it is critical to examine how large scale voucher programs are likely to affect the experiences of children entering the private sector through such programs. The standard "creaming" objection to voucher proposals focuses on the extent of segregation between the public and private sectors – segregation that is quite dramatic in many local education markets. However, this between-sector segregation is only part of the pattern of segregation evident in private schools. In fact, segregation within the private sector does more to produce racially homogeneous private schools than do patterns of between-sector segregation. Thus, in addition to attending to arguments that vouchers will siphon off white students from the public school system, leaving an even more segregated public system in their wake, policymakers and educators should pay more attention to the characteristics of the private sector that potential voucher recipients would enter. While, on average, minority students choosing the private sector enter a sector with far more white students, there is substantial evidence that they will face a highly segregated set of choices of private schools within their local schooling market. Moreover, because the patterns of segregation among private schools are linked to patterns of residential segregation, low-income families choosing private schooling for their children are likely to have few, if any, options for racially heterogeneous private schools, since few private schools provide any transportation for students from outside local neighborhoods or parishes. As a result, absent substantial transportation support, vouchers programs are likely to exacerbate the already extreme patterns of segregation among private schools.

Our analyses of segregation patterns yields several important findings. First, we find that private schools are much more highly segregated than has been generally assumed, in some cases more segregated than public schools. In general, we have found that Catholic and other religious schools are the most segregated schools in the private sector, while secular private schools are the least segregated. It is also generally true that private school segregation is greatest in large urban areas with large black populations and where residential segregation is substantial. Another important finding is that black-white segregation patterns do not correspond with Latino-white segregation patterns—a variety of regional, religious, and income factors impact black and Latino patterns differently, resulting in distinct patterns of segregation. For instance, black students face more segregation in the private sector, particularly among Catholic and other religious schools, than in the public sector. Latino students, however, are roughly equally segregated among public and Catholic schools, but less segregated in other religious and secular schools.

From a civil rights perspective, several key points emerge from this report. First, the assumption that private schools enroll the greatest percentage of students in the South, where there has been the highest level of public school integration and by far the highest proportion of black students in the population, is simply wrong. Although the South has the

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highest proportion of black students in the public schools of most white students, it has a relatively small private school sector, just 8%, as does the West, where almost half of the public school students are nonwhite. Moreover, white private school enrollment rates in the South (11%) are lower than the U.S. average (12%), suggesting that there is not (or no longer) any substantial 'white flight' to private schools in the South to avoid integrated public school systems. No Southern or Western state except Louisiana (a historic center of Catholic settlement) was among the 15 states with the highest share of students in private schools. Among metropolitan areas, New Orleans and New York had by far the highest share of white students in private schools.

Second, the assumption that minority students experience higher levels of integration with whites in the private sector when compared to the public sector is simply not true, particularly for black students, and to a lesser degree, Latino students. The discussion about vouchers has often included claims that minority students would get access to schools like whites if only they had greater access to the private sector. In fact, black students in the private sector are just as segregated from whites as in the public sector; white students in the private sector generally attend overwhelmingly white schools. Latino private school students make up a small fraction of private school enrollments but they still experience schools that typically have substantial non-white majorities. Since private schools typically provide no free transportation for students, an increase in the minority percentages in these schools would be likely to increase segregation.

Third, the data presented here suggest that a number of frequent generalizations about public and private education in the U.S. are not accurate. In particular, the data indicate that, in spite of local variations, private schools provide education for only a small minority of American students. The fact that the large metropolitan areas—including the New York and Los Angeles metropolitan areas, which dominate the nation's media—have among the highest proportions of white students in private schools may well account for the inaccurate perception that public schools are threatened by private school growth.

Fourth, this report suggests several interesting things about the theory that desegregation produces 'white flight' to private schools. On the one hand, much of the evidence here shows little evidence of 'white flight' from desegregation. For example, private schools enroll the most students in regions (the Northeast and Midwest) where public schools enroll the fewest minorities, and the fewest in the regions (the South and West) where the most interracial contact in public schools takes place. In addition, white private school enrollment rates peaked from 1950 to 1965, before there was any significant attempt at desegregation; then, after declining sharply in the late 1960s, white private school enrollments were relatively stable through the 1970s, the period of greatest desegregation. Moreover, in the last decade, as segregation has increased among public schools, white private school enrollment rates have increased gradually. Although many other factors contribute to these trends—including national declines in Catholic school enrollments, economic cycles, tuition trends, and perceptions of public school quality—these trends are nonetheless exactly the opposite of what white flight from desegregation would be expected to produce.

On the other hand, some of the evidence suggests that some white families seek private schooling in part to avoid schools with large minority enrollments. In school districts and metropolitan areas with higher shares of black students in the population, a higher proportion of whites attend private schools. In many large districts and in many metropolitan areas with high proportions of black students, white students are enrolled in private schools at rates far greater than black and Latino students. Moreover, it appears that

this pattern cannot be attributed to white avoidance of public schools where poverty rates are high, since the strong association between white private school enrollments and black student populations persists after we take local poverty rates into account. In all of our models, the strongest predictor of white private school enrollment is the proportion of black students in the area.

In the current policy era of school choice and private school voucher movements we can no longer view school segregation as an issue relevant only for the public schools, particularly when specific programs like the Cleveland voucher plan enroll 99% of the children in the religious private schools. Critical questions of whether public money should be spent to subsidize the movement of children into a highly-segregated and less-monitored educational sector must be discussed in light of the evidence of the often highly-segregated status of that sector. The data presented here contribute to a much better understanding of overall racial patterns in American schools, though they leave many questions about the causes of these patterns unanswered. Moreover, they leave unanswered larger policy issues about how best to respond to the evidence of substantial segregation in the private schooling market. Policymakers and educators alike must think through the implications of these findings—and the questions that they raise about the nature of private school segregation—in order to develop policies that will best serve the needs our changing student populations.

Finally, it is important to note that although this report cannot definitively ascertain the causes of these patterns of racial enrollment, the data do, nonetheless, suggest that private schools, as now operated, are not a significant answer to the problems caused by intensifying racial isolation in public schools as desegregation is abandoned. Other recent research from The Civil Rights Project has shown strong academic and adult life benefits of education in racially diverse schools. We recommend that the leaders of the nation's religious and secular private schools examine these patterns and the isolation of their significant minority enrollments as well as the serious segregation of white students and consider recruitment and transportation policies that could produce more diverse educational experiences for students of all racial and ethnic groups.

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8. APPENDICES

8.1. Appendix A: State private school enrollment patterns

Table A1: Private School Enrollment Rates, by State and Sector, Ranked by Total Private School Enrollment Rate, 1997-98

(Source: School District Data Book, 1990)

	State	Private School Enrollment Rate			
		Total	Catholic	Religious	Secular
1.	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	17.8	7.9	4.6	5.3
2.	DELAWARE	17.4	9.1	5.1	3.2
3.	PENNSYLVANIA	15.5	10.3	3.6	1.7
4.	LOUISIANA	14.9	10.0	2.9	2.0
5.	HAWAII	14.5	4.8	8.0	1.7
6.	RHODE ISLAND	14.2	10.1	1.3	2.8
7.	NEW JERSEY	13.8	9.5	2.4	1.9
8.	WISCONSIN	13.8	7.7	5.1	1.0
9.	NEW YORK	13.6	8.1	3.7	1.9
10.	MARYLAND	13.3	6.2	4.5	2.6
11.	ILLINOIS	13.0	8.9	3.0	1.1
12.	NEBRASKA	12.1	9.1	2.8	0.2
13.	MASSACHUSETTS	11.9	7.2	1.2	3.6
14.	OHIO	11.6	8.5	2.2	0.9
15.	MISSOURI	11.4	7.8	2.6	1.1
16.	CONNECTICUT	11.3	7.0	1.2	3.1
17.	NEW HAMPSHIRE	10.5	4.0	2.4	4.1
18.	FLORIDA	10.2	3.3	5.0	1.8
19.	MICHIGAN	9.7	4.9	4.1	0.7
20.	KENTUCKY	9.6	6.4	2.2	1.0
21.	CALIFORNIA	9.4	3.8	3.6	2.0
22.	INDIANA	9.3	5.3	3.4	0.7
23.	MINNESOTA	9.2	5.7	2.8	0.7
24.	VERMONT	9.0	2.6	1.3	5.2
25.	IOWA	8.9	6.7	2.0	0.2
26.	MISSISSIPPI	8.8	1.7	3.4	3.7
27.	TENNESSEE	8.1	1.6	5.0	1.6
28.	ALABAMA	8.1	1.7	4.0	2.5
29.	KANSAS	7.7	5.3	1.8	0.6
30.	VIRGINIA	7.7	2.2	3.3	2.1
31.	SOUTH CAROLINA	7.4	1.0	4.2	2.2
32.	OREGON	7.4	2.6	3.6	1.3
33.	MAINE	7.2	2.2	1.4	3.5
34.	COLORADO	7.1	2.4	2.9	1.8
35.	WASHINGTON	6.9	2.6	3.2	1.1
36.	GEORGIA	6.7	0.9	3.6	2.2
37.	SOUTH DAKOTA	6.2	4.0	1.9	0.3
38.	NORTH CAROLINA	6.1	0.9	3.5	1.7
39.	NORTH DAKOTA	5.6	3.9	1.5	0.2
40.	NEW MEXICO	5.4	2.0	1.9	1.5
41.	TEXAS	5.3	1.9	2.7	0.8
42.	ARIZONA	5.3	2.1	2.1	1.1
43.	ARKANSAS	5.1	1.6	2.8	0.7
44.	MONTANA	4.7	2.3	2.1	0.3
45.	ALASKA	4.4	0.8	3.3	0.3
46.	WEST VIRGINIA	4.3	2.2	1.8	0.4
47.	NEVADA	4.1	1.6	1.7	0.8
48.	OKLAHOMA	4.0	1.4	2.2	0.4
49.	IDAHO	3.7	1.2	2.2	0.4
50.	UTAH	2.5	0.8	0.8	1.0
51.	WYOMING	2.5	1.0	1.0	0.5

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Table A2: Private School Enrollment Rates, by State and Race/Ethnicity, Ranked by Total Private School Enrollment Rate, 1997-98

(Source: School District Data Book, 1990)

	State	Private School Attendance Rate					
		Total	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Indian
1.	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	17.8	72.2	9.7	13.4	34.3	20.9
2.	DELAWARE	17.4	22.4	5.8	8.4	23.3	16.3
3.	PENNSYLVANIA	15.5	16.7	9.9	9.9	17.2	14.7
4.	LOUISIANA	14.9	22.6	4.5	20.0	17.7	4.9
5.	HAWAII	14.5	15.4	6.2	8.3	15.0	9.1
6.	RHODE ISLAND	14.2	15.7	11.5	7.0	9.1	9.3
7.	NEW JERSEY	13.8	15.3	10.6	11.4	13.9	7.9
8.	WISCONSIN	13.8	14.9	7.8	10.7	7.0	6.8
9.	NEW YORK	13.6	16.4	10.0	9.4	10.9	8.3
10.	MARYLAND	13.3	17.1	7.1	10.6	12.9	7.4
11.	ILLINOIS	13.0	14.9	8.6	9.7	13.3	13.3
12.	NEBRASKA	12.1	13.0	5.6	5.9	12.2	3.7
13.	MASSACHUSETTS	11.9	12.8	10.5	6.0	11.4	12.0
14.	OHIO	11.6	12.4	6.8	14.7	17.6	14.9
15.	MISSOURI	11.4	12.5	5.4	14.6	15.2	5.1
16.	CONNECTICUT	11.3	12.8	7.4	5.5	14.3	10.1
17.	NEW HAMPSHIRE	10.5	10.2	19.4	11.2	25.1	15.7
18.	FLORIDA	10.2	12.8	3.2	10.2	14.0	11.0
19.	MICHIGAN	9.7	10.7	6.0	7.4	12.5	3.7
20.	KENTUCKY	9.6	10.4	2.7	12.0	21.3	7.1
21.	CALIFORNIA	9.4	13.8	8.7	4.5	11.1	6.7
22.	INDIANA	9.3	9.6	5.6	12.3	13.3	13.1
23.	MINNESOTA	9.2	10.0	4.8	6.3	5.1	5.3
24.	VERMONT	9.0	8.9	12.9	21.9	16.4	7.4
25.	IOWA	8.9	9.3	3.0	5.6	6.8	3.5
26.	MISSISSIPPI	8.8	15.4	1.5	11.7	16.1	3.1
27.	TENNESSEE	8.1	9.7	2.7	8.7	15.9	5.0
28.	ALABAMA	8.1	10.9	2.9	10.7	12.3	1.2
29.	KANSAS	7.7	8.2	2.9	8.2	6.9	2.5
30.	VIRGINIA	7.7	9.3	3.4	6.4	8.8	8.3
31.	SOUTH CAROLINA	7.4	11.4	1.5	7.9	22.5	6.1
32.	OREGON	7.4	7.7	8.8	3.8	8.6	3.5
33.	MAINE	7.2	7.1	8.0	13.1	11.3	5.5
34.	COLORADO	7.1	8.1	5.5	3.9	6.7	4.1
35.	WASHINGTON	6.9	7.6	5.8	2.8	7.3	2.4
36.	GEORGIA	6.7	9.4	2.5	4.6	8.2	13.5
37.	SOUTH DAKOTA	6.2	6.2	11.7	13.2	13.9	4.4
38.	NORTH CAROLINA	6.1	8.3	1.6	3.3	7.2	1.6
39.	NORTH DAKOTA	5.6	5.9	5.4	4.5	7.9	2.3
40.	NEW MEXICO	5.4	7.4	4.4	3.8	10.5	5.1
41.	TEXAS	5.3	7.5	3.0	3.1	8.3	10.8
42.	ARIZONA	5.3	6.6	3.8	3.1	8.5	4.0
43.	ARKANSAS	5.1	6.3	1.1	3.0	10.8	2.6
44.	MONTANA	4.7	4.6	4.0	3.6	4.9	4.8
45.	ALASKA	4.4	5.8	3.5	4.1	3.4	0.9
46.	WEST VIRGINIA	4.3	4.3	3.1	6.0	21.0	5.4
47.	NEVADA	4.1	5.0	2.6	1.7	6.6	1.6
48.	OKLAHOMA	4.0	4.9	2.0	3.2	9.2	0.7
49.	IDAHO	3.7	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
50.	UTAH	2.5	2.4	7.9	3.0	5.1	2.0
51.	WYOMING	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.0	7.0	1.1

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8.2. Appendix B: Metropolitan area private school enrollment patterns

Table B1: Private School Enrollment Rates, by Metropolitan Area Status, Type of Private School, and Race/Ethnicity, 1997-98 School Year
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Native American	Total
Metropolitan Area						
Catholic	6.9	2.8	4.0	5.5	2.4	5.6
Religious	4.5	2.1	1.2	3.3	2.1	3.5
Secular	2.1	2.2	0.7	2.6	1.3	1.7
Total Private	13.5	7.1	5.9	12.3	5.8	10.8
Rural						
Catholic	2.3	0.3	1.2	3.3	1.3	2.0
Religious	2.5	0.6	0.9	5.2	1.0	2.2
Secular	1.2	0.4	0.3	3.9	0.3	1.0
Total Private	6.0	1.2	2.4	12.4	2.5	5.2

Table B2: Racial Composition of Schools, by Metropolitan Area Status, Sector, and Type of Private School, 1997-98 School Year
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Native American	Total
Metropolitan Area						
Public	59.7	18.3	16.6	4.8	0.7	100.0
Private	76.3	9.8	8.6	5.0	0.4	100.0
Catholic	75.2	8.7	11.2	4.6	0.3	100.0
Religious	79.3	10.5	5.5	4.4	0.4	100.0
Secular	73.9	12.3	6.1	7.2	0.5	100.0
Total Metro	61.5	17.4	15.7	4.8	0.7	100.0
Rural						
Public	78.4	11.9	6.2	0.7	2.9	100.0
Private	91.4	2.7	2.7	1.8	1.4	100.0
Catholic	91.7	1.6	3.7	1.3	1.7	100.0
Religious	91.6	1.8	2.3	1.8	1.3	100.0
Secular	90.5	3.0	1.7	3.0	0.9	100.0
Total Rural	79.1	0.8	6.0	0.8	2.8	100.0

8.3. Appendix C: Detailed school segregation tables

Table C1: Distribution of School Percentage White and Average Percentage White in School, by Student Race, all Private Schools, 1997-98
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

Percentage White in School	Student Race/Ethnicity					
	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Native American	Total
0-10%	0.2	43.7	27.1	14.8	33.2	7.1
10-20%	0.4	5.5	8.8	8.9	6.3	1.9
20-30%	0.7	5.2	9.2	8.6	3.0	2.2
30-40%	0.8	4.3	6.7	5.6	4.4	1.8
40-50%	1.3	4.8	6.0	6.3	3.8	2.2
50-60%	2.2	5.8	7.3	6.5	4.8	3.2
60-70%	4.2	6.3	8.6	9.4	7.2	5.0
70-80%	7.7	7.2	8.9	11.3	8.8	7.9
80-90%	19.0	9.9	10.1	15.7	14.5	17.3
90-100%	63.6	7.3	7.5	12.9	14.2	51.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average Percentage White in School	88.4	34.3	41.1	52.5	45.2	77.9

Table C2: Distribution of School Percentage White and Average Percentage White in School, by Student Race, all Public Schools, 1997-98
(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

Percentage White in School	Student Race/Ethnicity					
	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Native American	Total
0-10%	0.6	34.4	35.7	13.2	22.0	12.1
10-20%	1.2	9.6	13.5	13.2	5.5	4.9
20-30%	1.7	7.9	9.8	9.9	5.2	4.3
30-40%	2.6	8.1	8.5	8.6	6.0	4.6
40-50%	3.8	8.7	7.5	8.9	7.1	5.4
50-60%	5.8	9.4	6.9	8.8	9.1	6.7
60-70%	7.9	8.0	5.9	8.9	10.6	7.7
70-80%	11.4	6.6	5.1	10.0	11.5	9.6
80-90%	18.2	4.7	4.4	10.4	13.1	13.6
90-100%	46.9	2.6	2.8	8.0	10.0	31.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average Percentage White in School	80.9	32.6	29.7	46.7	48.9	63.6

Table C3: Distribution of School Percentage White, by Student Race, all Catholic Schools, 1997-98

(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

Percentage White in School	Student Race/Ethnicity					
	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Native American	Total
0-10%	0.2	48.4	33.2	12.3	38.3	8.3
10-20%	0.4	5.5	9.6	10.3	5.0	2.3
20-30%	0.8	5.8	9.4	10.1	2.6	2.6
30-40%	0.9	3.8	6.6	6.5	4.3	2.0
40-50%	1.4	4.0	5.4	8.4	2.6	2.3
50-60%	2.2	4.8	6.5	6.7	3.0	3.1
60-70%	4.0	5.4	7.3	9.3	6.4	4.7
70-80%	6.8	6.4	7.2	8.7	7.7	6.9
80-90%	17.1	8.2	8.2	13.4	13.5	15.2
90-100%	66.1	7.7	6.7	14.4	16.6	52.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average Percentage White in School	88.5	31.2	36.4	51.8	43.4	76.6

Table C4: Distribution of School Percentage White, by Student Race, all Other Religious Schools, 1997-98

(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

Percentage White in School	Student Race/Ethnicity					
	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Native American	Total
0-10%	0.2	44.4	14.0	22.7	31.3	6.1
10-20%	0.3	5.4	8.0	11.9	8.9	1.7
20-30%	0.4	3.9	8.8	6.2	2.1	1.4
30-40%	0.6	4.3	6.8	4.7	4.6	1.5
40-50%	1.0	4.3	7.1	4.0	3.6	1.7
50-60%	2.0	5.9	8.9	6.4	6.1	2.9
60-70%	3.6	6.9	11.1	7.5	7.4	4.5
70-80%	6.6	7.2	11.5	10.2	8.7	7.1
80-90%	16.3	9.8	13.4	13.2	13.6	15.4
90-100%	69.0	8.0	10.4	13.4	13.8	57.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average Percentage White in School	90.1	34.6	51.3	47.6	45.8	80.9

Table C5: Distribution of School Percentage White, by Student Race, all Secular Private Schools, 1997-98

(Source: Common Core of Data, 1997-98 and Private School Survey, 1997-98)

Percentage White in School	Student Race/Ethnicity					
	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Native American	Total
0-10%	0.1	32.0	15.3	9.9	25.6	5.3
10-20%	0.3	5.6	5.9	2.3	4.6	1.3
20-30%	0.8	6.2	9.4	8.4	5.6	2.4
30-40%	0.9	5.4	7.1	4.9	3.9	2.1
40-50%	1.7	7.2	7.4	5.0	6.8	2.9
50-60%	2.8	7.8	8.6	6.1	6.2	4.0
60-70%	5.8	7.5	11.1	12.3	8.3	6.7
70-80%	12.6	9.3	13.8	18.2	11.4	12.7
80-90%	30.8	13.8	15.0	23.7	18.4	27.5
90-100%	44.1	5.4	6.5	9.2	9.3	35.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average Percentage White in School	84.7	40.6	50.4	60.3	48.2	76.0

8.4. Appendix D: Regression models predicting white private school enrollment rates

Figure 12 in this report shows a strong, positive relationship between the enrollment of white students in private schools and the percentage of black students living in the same district, for the 100 largest school districts in the United States. In order to see how robust that relationship is when we take into account other characteristics of the district, we fit a simple linear regression model with the white private school enrollment rate (*whtprv*) as the outcome, and the percent of black students among all students living in the district (*blkpct*) as the primary predictor variable. We also controlled for the poverty rate in the district (*povrate*), as well as the total school enrollment (*totenrl*), and the school's geographic region. Finally, because high levels of segregation in the public schools would reduce the average contact of white and black students in the public schools, and so might lead to less incentive for white flight to the private sector, we also include in the models the level of black-white public school segregation present (*bwseg*), as well as an interaction term between black enrollment percentage and black-white public school segregation (*blkpctXbwseg*).

Table D1 presents the results of these regression models. Regardless of the controls added to the model, the coefficients on the *blkpct* variable remain large and statistically significant at the $p<0.05$ level. In addition, the R-squared statistic for *blkpct* alone is 0.49, which means that 49% of the variance in *whtprv* is explained by the black proportion of the population alone. Adding the other predictors to the model reduces the effect of black proportion slightly, but added little to the explanatory power of the model.

In additional models not shown here, we fit this model using Latino and Asian proportions of the population in place of *blkpct*, but neither was a significant predictor of white private school enrollment rates in these models.

Table D1: Regression models estimating association of black population percentage with white private school enrollment rates, controlling for poverty, region, district size, and black-white public school segregation, 100 largest school districts, 1989-90
(Source: School District Data Book, 100 largest districts)

Variables	Models					
	(1) *whtprv*	(2) *whtprv*	(3) *whtprv*	(4) *whtprv*	(5) *whtprv*	(6) *whtprv*
pctblk	0.45**		0.38**	0.40**	0.40**	0.32**
povrate		1.00**	0.36*	0.26	0.26	0.16
totenrl				0.02**	0.02**	0.02**
northeast					0.10	-0.59
south					-1.65	-3.27
west					0.71	-1.35
bwseg						-2.11
pctblkXbwseg						15.50
Constant	12.92**	10.12**	9.376**	10.99**	8.99*	13.22*
Observations	100	100	100	100	100	90
Adj. R^2	0.49	0.27	0.51	0.53	0.57	0.53

*significant at 5% level; ** significant at 1% level

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